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Vol. XLII 1980 Parts I & II

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THE MITRA RULERS OF MATHURA

K. D. BAJPAI

The coinage of the local rulers of Mathura, particularly of those with *mitra*-ending names is important for the early history of that region. The device of these coins, the legends and the motifs found on them are of considerable significance.

Recently B. N. Mukherjee has drawn our attention to the motif *abhisheka of Lakshmī* on a coin of king Gomitra of Mathura.[1] The coin was published by Allan in his *Catalogue*[2] but this important motif remained unnoticed so far. This depiction shows that the *abhisheka of Lakshmī* occurred on the local Mitra coins of Mathura before the same was adopted by the Mathura Kshatrapas, Rājuvula and Śoḍāsa, at a later date.

The figure of elephant shown to the left of Lakshmī on the coin of Gomitra is artistically superior to that found on the Kshatrapa coins: Here it stands facing on a lotus with an elephant at the right with gracefully raised trunk indicating her *abhisheka*. The 'thick cover' mentioned by Mukherjee over Lakshmī's head represents *chhattra*, usually found over her head on the Mathura coins.

The depiction of Gajalakshmī is noticeable on some *Janapada* coins of Ujjayinī, Kauśāmbī and Ayodhyā also.[3]

The coin discussed by Mukherjee and a few other coins have been attributed to Gomitra II of Mathura by Allan.[4]

After a close scrutiny of the entire 'Mitra' problem, I am led to believe that there was only one ruler of Mathura called Gomitra. Allan has assigned some coins to Gomitra I.[5] It may be observed that coins 1 to 4 of Allan are quite different from the well-known Mathura Mitra coinage (Lakshmī and three elephants type). The symbols, both on the obverse and reverse, on coins of the so-called king Gomitra I differ from the usual symbols on Mathura Mitra coins. Besides, the legend on those coins cannot be read with certainty as *gomitasa vārānāyā* (as read by Allan). The only three clear letters on these coins are *rānāyā.* The reverses of the two coins illustrated by Allan are given upside down. Cunningham, who obtained these coins at Bulandshahar in U. P., read on them *Bārānāye.*[1]

---

[1] *JNSI*, IXL, pp. 155-56; pl. X. 4 and 4 A.

[2] Allan, *BMCAI* p. 170, pl. XXV, 1. Prior to it Cunningham had published that coin in his *Coins of Ancient India*, (hence forth *CAI*) p. 88, pl. VIII, fig. 11.

[3] See Allan, *Op. cit.*, p. 256, pl. XVIII, 24; pl. XXXVI, 4-5; p. 149, pl. XX, 5; pp. 131-33, pl. XVII, 14-15; pl, XLIII, 4-5. Recently this motif has been noticed by me on some Vidisha coins.

[4] Allan, *Op. cit.*, p. 170-72; pl. XXV, 1-10 and XLIV, 6 and XLV, 1.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 169 (coins no. 1 to 5), pl. XXIV, 20-21; pl. XXV, 3,

Coin no. 5 of Allan (p. 169, pl. XXV,3) cannot fall under the Mathura Mitra series. The stick shaped crude human form and the tree-in-railing are of a peculiar type there. The legend *gomitasa* read by Allan on the coin cannot stand a strict scrutiny. The letters *ga* and *ma* (if they can be read as such from top to bottom) tend to indicate a developed form than the one found on the coins of Gomitra of Mathura.

Coin no. 12 of Allan (p. 171, pl. XLIV, 6) is of Śibi *janapada* and it has nothing to do with Gomitra. The Brāhmī legend *Sibijanapada* is very clear at the bottom of the coin.

Coin no: 18 (p. 171, pl. XLV, 1) also cannot be assigned to Gomitra. Allan has described the coin as under :

Obv. : goddess facing on left; tree in centre, Ujjain symbol below tree. *Gomitasa* reading downwards on right.

Rev. : Illegible.

No doubt, it is a Mathura coin. But unfortunately its obverse is not well preserved, and the symbols are not clear. Nor it is possible to read the name of Gomitra on the coin. The reverse indicates the usual device of three elephants. It is not possible to assign the coin to Gomitra with certainty.

Now I take up Allan's coins not 19 to 25 (p. 172, pl. XXV, 8-11). These round copper coins show a bull before tree-in-rail on the obverse with the legend *gomitasa.* The obverse is plain. As already pointed out by me[2], these coins should be assigned to Gomitra of Kauśāmbī, not of Mathura. The fabric, size and weight of these coins and also the symbols of bull and tree-in-rail are strongly in favour of assigning these coins to the Kauśāmbī *janapada*.[1]

---

[1] *ASR,* XIV, p. 147; *CAI,* p. 88, pl. VII, 10. On the basis of (Ba) *ranayā,* these coins can, in my opinion, be assigned to the ancient city of Vārṇāvarta (present Barnawa in the Meerut district).

[2] *JNSI,* XXVIII, p. 42; Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 105, note 2.

Rest of the coins (Allan, p. 170, no. *6-11* and *13-17*) belong to king Gomitra of Mathura. This ruler is thus known to have issued both square and round coins. He can be called the first Mitra ruler of Mathura to have started the series of Lakshmī and three-elephants (*trigaja*) type of coins, which was followed by a good number of the local rulers of Mathura including those of the 'Datta' family.[2]

The rulers of Mathura, with *Mitra* names, so far known to have issued their coins are :

1. Gomitra, 2. Sūryamitra, 3. Brahmamitra, 4. Vishṇumitra, 5. Driḍhamitra and 6. Satyamitra.[3] Of these Sūryamitra and Brahmamitra are known to have issued a larger number of coins than others.[4]

Driḍhamitra (no. 5) and Satyamitra (no. 6) seem to have ruled for a short time.

One king Gomitra is known from a brick inscription (no. 14 d-B) from village Ganeshra (now in the Mathura Museum). There Gomitra is mentioned along with the name of his minister. Luders seems to be right in indentifying this Gomitra with the king Gomitra of Mathura coins.[5]

An important votive stone inscription from Mathura (now in the Patna Museum) contains the name of king Vishṇumitra and also of his father *-mamitra*.[6] The name of the father can be restored as Brahmamitra.[7]

---

[1] Similar Kauśāmbī coins of Gomitra are already known. A clear figure of Bull occurs only on variety d of the coins of Rāmadatta of Mathura, Allan, *Op. cit.*, p. 181, pl. XXIV, 10.

[2] Allan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 173-82 and plates.

[3] A coin of this king was published by me in *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 42, pl. II, 7.

[4] A big hoard containing mostly the coins of Brahmamitra was discovered at Mathura some years ago.

[5] See K. L. Janert, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, (Gettingen, 1961), pp. 159-60. A fragmentery stone in the Mathura Museum seems to contain in the name of Gomitra. *Ibid*, pp. 192-93.

[6] *Ibid*, pp. 206-08.

[7] [T. P. Verma for the first time suggested the restoration and identification of the name of King Brahamamitra in the Patna Museum inscription in his paper at the Seminar on the Cultural History of Ancient Mathura, held in January 1980 under the auspecies of the American Institute of Indian Studies at Delhi. L.G.]

The name of the daughter of King Vishṇumitra is given as Indrāgnibhadrā in this inscription.

Luders' identification of Vishṇumitra of the Patna Museum stone inscription with King Vishṇumitra of the Pañchāla house[1] does not seem to be correct. This Vishṇumitra of the inscription can be equated with the king of Mathura, whose coins are known.

The names Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra (and one other name of Dhruvamitra) belonging to a separate category, occur on the coins found at Rairh (dist. Jaipur in Rajasthan).[2] Another set of two rulers bearing the names Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra have been assigned to the house of Kanauj (?) by Allan.[3]

One coin of Brahmamitra has been published by Smith.[4] The obverse of the coin shows tree-in-rail, Indradhvaja and *vajra* (Ujjain) symbols. The legend below is *Brahmamitasa.* The reverse of the coin shows tree-in-rail. This coin bears close similarity with those of the Mitra coins of Kauśāmbī.

I do not think that there was a separate independent house of Mitra rulers at Kanauj during the period with which we are concerned here. As I have already pointed out elsewhere the area of Kanauj was included in the Mitra kingdom of Pañchāla or of Mathura. The coins of Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra, assigned by Allan to Kanauj, can be attributed to the rulers of the same names of the Kauśāmbī house. This is clear from the fabric and type of the coins.[5]

The Bodhgaya railing insctiptions give us the names of kings Brahmamitra and Indrāgnimitra. Possibly these rulers belonged to the Kauśāmbī house.[6]

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1. Janert, *Ibid,* p. 207.
2. K, N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh,* pp. 66-68.
3. Allan, *Op. cit.*, p. 147, pl. XIX, 11-13.
4. V. A. Smith, *IMC* pt. I, p. 205, pl. XXIII, 5.
5. Bajpai, *Op. cit.*, p. 45.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 35, note 5.

The excavations conducted at Sonkh (dist. Mathura) have brought to light some valuable evidences bearing on the material culture of Mathura during the rule of the Mitras.[1] On the basis of the field work done at Sonkh and the other available evidence, it can be said that the Mitras of Mathura began their rule sometime about the middle of 2nd century B. C. The chronological position in regard to the 6 Mitra rulers, known so far, seems to have been in the order of their names mentioned above.

---

[1] See H. Hartel, "*Some Results of the Excavation at Sonkh*", *German Scholars on India*, Vol. II, (1976), pp. 79-84, fig. 10 and 16.

TWO LION TYPE COINS OF KING SĀTAVĀHANA

SHOBHANA GOKHALE

(PL I. 1-2)

The two coins under study are in the collection of two different individuals. The one was acquired by Sri S. M. Shukla, Hon. Numismatic Adviser to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. He received it from a dealer in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh. The second coin is in the coin-cabinet of Sri Shrikant Pore, M. A. student in the University of Poona. Both the coins have a common device, i.e. lion on the obverse and, therefore, are taken together for study. The only notable difference is that lion is shown in profile on the one and is facing front on the other.

So far eight coins of King Sātavāhana have been published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.* One in the Kaus collection was purchased from a coin-dealer of Warangal and is published by Mirashi.[1] The second was obtained from a coin dealer of Aurangabad and is published by Jogalekar and Dixit.[2] The third, obtained from the excavations at Kondapur Medak district, Andhra Pradesh was published separately by Mirashi[3] and Rama Rao.[4] Deo published four coins from Nevasa.[5] Kolte published one coin from Vidarbha.[6] Shastri[7] published two types of coins of this king, which he acquired from the village Kota-lingala situated on the right bank of the river Godavari, about sixty kilometers from the district headquarters of Hyderabad. It is interesting to note that along with these two coins Shastri published four copper coins of Chhimuka Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty, whose name is found as Simuka in the Nānāghaṭa relievo label inscription and in the *Purāṇas.*

---

1. *JNSI,* VII, pp. 1 ff.
2. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Poona,* VI, pp. 141.
3. *JNSI,* XI, pp. 5-6.
4. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress,* 1945, pp. 23. It is published by Ramarao as no. 2 of the Numismatic series issued by the Hyderabad Museum and edited by Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad.
5. *JNSI,* XXII, pp. 144-145.
6. H. D. Sankalia and S. B. Deo. – *From History to Pre-history at Navasa,* pp. 171-176,
7. *JNSI,* Vol. 37 p. 143.

The present two coins become eleventh and twelth in the list of the coins of King Sātavāhana. So far three types of the coins of King Sātavāhana were known, i. e., (1) Elephant; (2) Bull; and (3) Tree type. Now, for the first time we get a new, i. e. lion type of this king Sātavāhana. On all these coins the Ujjain Symbol with some variations is observed. Our two coins are round in shape. They are die-struck as is apparent from the partial accommodation of devices and legend.

Display of coins of King Sātavāhana

The coins are of unusual interest from several points of view. They may be described as follows :

(1) Metal : Copperi; Shape : round; Thickness : 0.02 cm.; Weight : 4.800 gms; Dia. : 2.4 cms.

Obv. : Lion standing, facing front with uplifted left hind leg and tail. *Chaitya* symbol between two left legs. Legend starts from 11'O clock (*Raño*) *Satavahanasa,*

Rev. : Ujjain symbol. The orbs of the symbol are touching at the end of coin pellet in the circles, pellets surrounding the cross. *Triratna* symbol between the orbs of Ujjain Symbol.

(2) Metal : Copper; Shape : round; Thickness 0.03 cm.; Weight : 5.45 gms.; Dia. : 2.5 cms.

Obv. : Lion standing, facing right with uplifted tail. *Chaitya* symbol between two left legs. Tree in railing.

Rev. : Ujjain symbol, two orbs partially cut, pellet in the circles. Pellet surrounding the cross. *Triratna* between the orbs of Ujjain symbol.

A description of the coins, found so far, is given below :

S. No.	*References and find spot*	*Metal*	*Shape*	*Size*	*Weight*
1.	(Kaus Collection) Warangal	Copper	Square	0.8″	110 grains
2.	Nevasa, 2186	Copper	Rect.	.7″ × .62″	61 grs.
3.	(Joglekar Collection) Aurangabad	Potin	Rect.	.8″ × .60″	78 grs.
4.	Nevasa, (1981)	Lead	Round	1.03″	168 grs.
5.	Nevasa, (1175)	Lead	Round	0.95″	206 grs.
6.	Nevasa, (6490)	Lead	Round	0.95″	182 grs.
7.	Nevasa; (3640)	Lead	Round	0.88″	179 grs.
8.	Kondapur	Lead	Oval	1″ × .75″	98.9 grs.
9.	Vidarbha	Copper	Rect.	24mm. × 17mm.	4.9gms.

	Obverse	Reverse
1. Kaus Collection	Elephant with trunk upraised having in front a peculiar symbol consisting two flattened circles on a vertical line, above the back of the elephant appears a triangle headed standard with a cross bar.	Ujjain symbol, each orb contains a pellet within two circles, a peculiar symbol, *swastik, nandipada.*
2 Jogalekar & Dixit	Elephant to right with trunk upraised.	Ujjain symbol, pellet within two circles, surrounded by *nandipada.*
3. Nevasa	Bull walking right, on its hump and back three-arched hill.	Five branched tree in railing, triangle-headed symbol, fishes and wavy line indicating a river.
4. Nevasa	Bull walking right, on its hump and back three-arched hill.	Five branched tree in railing. over it a *triratna* to the left of the tree, *nandipada* symbol below it, three fishes in the river.
5. Nevasa	Elephant with upraised trunk walking right, in its front the triangle-headed standard, on its back a group of four empty circles, the extreme right circle capped by a crescent,	Mostly effaced.
6. Nevasa	Elephant facing right with upraised trunk, a peculiar symbol (two horizontal lines cut by a vertical one) in its front, a triangle-headed standard with a cross bar on its back.	Ujjain symbol, each orb of which contains a pellet within two circles, *swastik* with ends turned unusally in the reverse direction, partially cut *nandi-pada.*

7. Vidarbha	Elephant trunk upraised.	Ujjain symbol surmounted by *nandipada*.
8 Kondapur	Elephant facing right but its trunk is hanging.	Ujjain symbol, a pellet within two circles and a pellet, between its orbs a crescent.
9. Kotalingal	Tree with leaves.	Ujjain symbol, triratna symbol surrounding two concentrating circles.
10. Kotalingal	Elephant with trunk upraised.	Ujjain symbol with crescent on orbs.

The present two coins are unique as they display a new type of coins of King Sātavāhana.

The name Sātavāhana referring to the dynasty appears in two Nāsik inscriptions[1] of kings Kṛishṇa and Pulumāvi. While the Purāṇas name this dynasty as Āndhra, they do not mention the name of King Sātavāhana. It appears as a personal name in the Label inscription from Nānāghaṭ. After the discovery of the coins with the specific name of king Sātavāhana, a controversy arose amongst the scholars regarding the place of king Sātavāhana in the chronological table of the dynasty. The two types of evidences, Purāṇic and numismatic, is seen parallel and, therefore, it is difficult to hormonise them to arrive at a final conclusion. It must be admitted that the problem of the Sātavāhana chronology is very complicated. Firstly, it requires closer investigations. Secondly, a dozen coins of this king are insufficient to arrive at any final conclusion.

Mirashi is of the opinion that the family was founded by a king named Sātavāhana, but the name of such a king is not included in the Purāṇic list of the so-called Andhra kings. Katare has objected to Mirashi's identification.

Various ingenious explanations have been suggested by different scholars about the period of king Sātavāhana and his relationship with other known Sātavāhana kings.

The palaeographical features, which were taken as the determining chronometer, proved to be risky.

---

[1] *Numismatic Degest*, Vol. II Part I. p. 18

It was generally believed that the Sātavāhanas influenced the Ujjain region about the time of Sātakarṇī I, the son of Simuka and the father of Kumāra Sātavāhana. This was after and not before Sātakarṇī I. But Ujjain symbol appears on the coins of Chhimuka-Sātavāhana and, therefore, it is not unlikely that the Ujjain symbol was adopted before Sātakarṇī I. No confirmatory evidence is so far available to indicate whether the coins with Ujjain symbol were for home country or conquered regions.

Gupta[1] has rightly remarked that any attempt to suggest any date or chronology on the basis of palaeography serves no purpose, only the motifs of the coins can be of some help. This holds good in the case of present coins also. These are round and show better workmanship. The lion occurs on the coins of Sātakarṇī I as well. This affinity tends to suggest that this Sātavāhana was, probably the son of Sātakarṇī I who has been referred to in one of the relievo inscriptions at Nānāghāṭ.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60, 93.

[2] *Coinage of the Satavahanas*, Ed. Shastri A. M., 1971, Nagpur.

TWO FOREIGN GOLD COINS FROM EXCAVATION AT KUDAVELLI, DISTRICT MAHABUBNAGAR, ANDHRA PRADESH.

N. C. GHOSH and K. ISMAIL

The ancient site Kudavelli (Long. 78° 14″ E and Latt. 15° 56″ N) is situated at hte confluence point of the rivers Tungabhadra (East) and Krishna (West), 4 km north of the present day village Kudavelli in district Mahabubnagar, Andhra Pradesh, landmarked by the Eastern Chalukyan Sangameswara temple famous for its sculptural and architectural wealth. Excavations[1] here revealed two periods, period I and period II with a further sub-division in the latter as II A and II B.

Period I, datable from the middle of 4th century A. D. to the 6th century. A. D., yielded two circular gold coins (Pl. I.)—Coin No. 1 and 2—along with other datable antiquities. Of these two coins, coin No. 2 is a half cut coin. Both coins bear small holes on the top suggesting their being used as pendants. When put to specific gravity tests, the coins proved to be of almost pure gold with very negligible quantity of impurities mixed in it.

Cion No. 1 : This coin, found in the lower levels of Period I, is in very good condition except that it has two small holes pierced at the top of the coin above the head of the emperor. The details of the coin are as follows :

Specific gravity of the metal : 18. 9109
Size : 2.1 cms.
Weight : 4.3061 gms.

Obverse : In the centre is the bust of an emperor represented with full face wearing a turban-like head-dress, a shield hanging at his right shoulder and a shear rising behind his head from right shoulder to left temple with its spearhead pointing roughly to 2 o' clock.

The legend runs along the edge starting from 8 o'clock to 11 o'clock reading FL IVL CONSTAN on the left side, then two small holes at the top pierced in later times for using the coin as a pendant, and TIVS PERP AVG II (N) from 1 o'clock to 4 o'clock on the right side.

---

[1] Excavation was conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India, Excavation Branch, Nagpur, under the direction of Shri N. C. Ghosh, Superintending Archaeologist.

Reverse : In the centre two women sitting on high pedestals facing each other and holding an oval shield bearing the letters from top to bottom VOT XXX MULT XXXX. The legend along the edge reads as GLORIA from 8 o'clock to 11 o'clock REI on the top at 12 o' clock and PUBLICAE from 2 o'clock to 4 o'clock. In the exergue only two letters-CO-are seen. The other letters are gone as a result of two holes pierced through them.

Incision Marks : On the obverse are incised very lightly three marks XƎƎ in a semi-circular shape beginning from the centre of the neck of the portrait.

The obverse legend which is in Latin, when fully read, gives the name FLAVIUS IULIUS CONSTANTIUS PERPETUUS AUGUSTUS who was the son of the Roman Emperor Flavious Valerius Constantinus Magnus, popularly known as Constantine the Great (A. D. 306-337). He (Constantius II) was appointed Caesar in A. D. 323 and Augustus in A. D. 337. After regaining control of the entire Roman Empire in A. D. 353, the mint at Sermium was opened to strike coinage both for him and for his cousin Constantius Gallus whom he appointed as Caesar in A. D. 351.[1] He issued a number of gold coins in the *solidus* denomination with the universal reverse type of Gloria Republicae showing goddesses Roma and Constantinopolis personifications of the cities of Rome and Constantinople, seated on high stools or pedestals facing each other and holding an oval shield recording the vows in connection with 30 years of the rule of the Emperor.

The letters on the shield when fully read run as VOTIS XXX MULTIPLICATIS XXXX. Such coins, which refer to the vows or prayers offered for the health, safety and prosperity of the emperor at the annual festivals, are numerous.[2] Generally, the legend is within a laurel wreath held or being written by one Victoria or two. Sometimes, the legend is within a shield held by two goddesses-Roma and Constantinopolis.

The Greek letter ĪĪ (N?) at the end of the obverse legend indicates the mint mark [3]

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[1] R. A. G. Carson '*Coins of the World*', p. 181.

[2] Comm. Fransesco Guecchi '*The coin types of Imperial Rome*' page 73.

[3] G. F. Hill '*Ancient Greek and Roman Coins*', p. 228

After restoring the missing letters with the help of other coins the exergue legend can be read as CONS which is a short form for the mint place Constantinople.

Coin No. 2 : This gold coin was recovered from the upper levels of period I. It is cut more than half with a perforation on the top suggesting its use as a pendant in later times.

Details :

Specific gravity of the metal : 18.9946.

Size : 2 cms.

Weight : 2.4693 gms.

Obverse : The emperor is portrayed in the conventional late Roman style i. e., a facing bust with diademed head-dress and cuirass with head turned slightly to the right. A spear over right shoulder is projecting from behind the head.

Legend : (Right half) : The legend reads IVS PPAVC from 1 o' clock to 4 o'clock.

Reverse : The right half of the reverse contains vertically more than half of the representation of a standing goddess facing to the left showing her left wing completely. She is shown wearing a sort of jewelled crown on her head. The legend along the right edge starting from 1 o'clock reads as AAVCCC (A AU GGG) and 'S'. In the exergue separated by a horizontal line from the standing partrait of the goddess is mentioned N O which may be read completely as CONOB where CON stands for the mint place Constantinople and 0B stands for the weight of the gold coin which was fixed at 1/72 lb (4.55 gms.) during the time of Constantine the Great (A. D. 306-337).[1] Incision Marks : On the obverse near the head are incised very small and light cross marks one below the other.

On comparing this coin with other known Roman and Byzantine coins kept in the British museum, especially with the Akki Ālūr hoard found recently in Hangal taluk, Dhārwār district in Karṇāṭaka[2], which contained nearly 46 gold coins comprising of Roman and Byzantine emperors, it is clear that this half cut gold coin is a *solidus* issued by the Byzantine emperor Anastasius

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 55.

[2] Information from the Director of Archaeology & Museums Karnataka State.

(A. D. 491-518) who was famous for his introduction of a new denomination in Bronze Coinage. Although there were other mint places like Nicomedia and Antioch the coinage in precious metals was struck for Anastasius at the mint of Constantinople only.[1]

The coin when reconstructed with the help of other similar coins contains the following details:

Size : 2 cms.

Weight : 4.4 gms.

Obverse : Bust of the emperor with shield and spear.

Legend : Left side--DN ANASTA
Right side–SIVS PPAVG

The above legend when fully read gives.

DOMINUS NOSTER ANASTASIUS PERPETUUS AUGUSTUS.

Reverse : The reverse legend reads as VICTORI (left edge) and A AVCCC S which gives the full reading as VICTORIA AUGUSTI and the Greek Officina numeral (mint mark) at the end.

The central standing figure on the reverse is that of goddess Victoria, the presonification of Victory, who is generally shown holding a long sceptre terminating in a Christogram. The representation of this winged goddess, though appearing on the coins of the Republican epoch, assumes the greatest importance under the first emperors and continues till the end of the empire. Most of the emperors inscribe victory on their coins.[2] This tradition was also continued by the Byzantine Emperors.

The incisions, put invariably on the portrait on the obverse of the Roman coins, still remain an unsolved problem. However, contradicting Wheeler's[3] view of these coins being used as bullion rather than legal tender by Indians, P. L. Gupta[4] suggests that the silver Roman coins were used as legal tender by Indians after cancelling the Roman authority by incising hori-

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1. R. A. G. Carson ; *Coins of the World*. p. 197.
2. Comm. Francesco Guecchi ; *'The Coin Types of Imperial Rome'*, pp. 63, 64.
3. R. E. M. Wheeler ; *Roman Beyond the Impeaial Frontiers*, p. 140,
4. P. L. Gupta ; *Roman coins from A. P. Museum.* (A. P. Govt. Museum Series No. 10) pp. 69—70.

zontal, vertical or slanting lines on the portrait of the Roman emperor on the obverse. The silver punch-marked coins, which were still in circulation, weigh more ar less equal to the weight of Roman silver coins. Therefore, the local rulers took advantage of the Roman silver coins that were coming in great numbers from Rome by putting them into circulation as legal money after proper cancellation of the Roman authority over them and punching some symbols similar to the punches on the native punch-marked coins. This saved money as well as manpower involved in the production of coins. But, P. L Gupta did not suggest anything about the Roman gold coins having chisel marks on the obverse. If we take that his view about marks on silver coins also applies to the gold coins, we face the following doubts :

1. In the first instance, the two gold coins recovered from Kūḍavelli excavations do not bear any chisel marks cut either vertically or horizontally or slantingly on any of their sides to suggest their being used as legal tender by the local rulers after cancelling their issuers' authority.

2. No gold punch-marked or other coins that are equal in their metallic value either to these Kūḍavelli coins or to coins found elsewhere have so far been found anywhere in this part of India (South).

3. Like on some silver Roman coins the Kūḍavelli gold coins also have delicate incisions, rather scratches, (punches similar to those on silver punch-marked coins, according to P. L. Gupta) on the obverse. If these minute marks (punches ?) indicate the conversion (value ?) of the foreign coins into native coins, why was the religiously followed custom of chiselling cancellion marks on the portrait of the emperor overlooked even after incising the minute marks ?

Moreover, the minute scratch marks on these gold coins do not in any way tally with the marks on any silver punch marked coins. And there are some gold coins which do not bear either bold chisel marks or minute scratch marks. For example, none of the 46 Roman and Byzantine gold coins found in Akki Ālūr hoard bear such marks, although some of them have either two small holes on the top or a loop made of gold and attached at one end. It seems that these coins acquired by local merchants in exchange for their merchandise on their intrinsic value were later on sold to local customers as bullion without bothering for melting them. Naturally, people like for their necklace pendants with good shape bearing good engravings on them. This liking was also there in those times. Beautifully struck portraits and images on the coins might have served this purpose well. So the persons who purchased the gold coins, in all the likelihood. used to wear them around their necks as they were but by just piercing two small holes or loops through which a thread could pass and hold the coins as pendants. Regarding the ugly chisel marks on these beautiful coins, especially, on the obverse where the portrait of the emperor is, we may say that they were cut by the merchants at the time of either purchasing them from foreigners or at the time of selling them to local cumstomers to make sure the purity of the metal. Or the local people cut the unnecessary portrait leaving the reverse side, which is, in many cases, a depiction of an angel, untouched so that they could use it as an amulet or a charm. Or some people, who did not like to spoil the beauty of the coins by chiselling on them but still wanted to put some marks or symbols indicating their ownership, scratched two or three minute marks on the coins.

Considering all these points one can assume that atleast the gold coins that had come from abroad might have been used as bullion and not as converted legal money.

When the imitative Roman and Byzantine gold coins were found in the Weepangandla hoard in the Mahabubnagar district, scholars were not fully convinced that there were active trade relations between Byzantium and India. But, now the presence of these two gold coins at Kudavelli in the same district strongly suggests that the trade and cultural relations that were started during the reign of Augustus Caesar (27 B. C.—14 A. D.), as is confirmed by the find of Akkenapalli, Distt. Nalgonda, hoard,[1] did not vanish at the end of the first quarter of the 3rd century A. D. as was supposed earlier.[2] They not only lasted throughout the Roman empire till its fall but also extended into the Byzantine empire upto the 6th century A. D. when trade and social relations between Byzantium and India were very brisk.[3]

India used to provide Byzantium with spices, ivory, jewels and cotton. As a source of these articles India along with Persia, China and other Central Asian countries was highly respected by the Byzantine people. The cultural influence of India over Byzantium was so profound that the Byzantine dancers adopted a few styles of oriental dancing.[1] Naturally by traders who utilized and exploited every possible route for the smooth transport of the merchandise from and to India. As Kudavelli is situated at the confluence of two large rivers, Krishṇā and Tuṅgabhadrā, the site provided a very good meeting place for all the merchants, foreign as well as native, where the exchanges and transactions were carried on. This sort of atmosphere alone can account for the presence of a unique twin bowl in Red Polised Ware (Pl. III. 1) in this part of Andhra the like of which has not so far been recovered from any site in India. This pot may definitely have come from some foreign country as a part of merchandise.

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[1] P. L. Gupta, *Op. Cit.*, p. 63.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 50 & 53.

[3] *JNSI* XXXIV, Pt, I pp. 3 - 6.

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[1] Tamara Talbot Rice ; *Everyday life in Byzantium*, p. 135.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 150.

A NOTE ON KALABHRA KOOTRAN'S COINS

S. RAMAYYA

That South Indian coinage, especially of the Tamil and neighbouring areas, require a more intensive study and analysis is obvious. During the first two centuries before and after the begining of Christian era punch-marked coins circulated there. Some coins of this type possibly were minted in the South as well. It is, however, doubtful whether copper coins, cast or die-struck, were produced as in the North. The Roman colony of Madura is supposed to have minted some copper coins with Roman effigies. The most important fact was the heavy influx of Roman gold coins in the first three centuries of the Christian era to pay for the South Indian exports, mainly pepper and cotton cloth. This gold currency was used to a small extent for exchange but largely it was melted and retained as bullion or used for making jewellery. The copper coins of the neighbouring Sātavāhana Empire, both inscribed and uninscribed, circulated in the northern areas.

From about 300 to 600 A. D. the far South, including Kerala and south Mysore, was ruled by a people called the Kalabhras, who put an end to the old Tamil Chola, Chera and, Pandyan dynasties of the Sangam age. Very little authentic information about them is known. They appear to be military adventurers from the Deccan or North India who moved about in organised bands. Since the great Kushana Empire of the North and the equally great Sātavāhana Empire of the Deccan had disintegrated by about 250 A. D. the movement of the roving Kalabhra bands was easy. They penetrated and spread in the South mainly from the side of Mysore as early Pallavas blocked them in the Kanchi area. In the earlier days of their rule no dynasty of kings is noticed. Like the early aristocratic republics of the Punjab and Rajasthan they appear to have had a sort of republican set up. One great leader, probably of the 4th century named Achuta Vikranta Kalabhra ruled from Kaveripumpattinam in Tanjore district at the mouth of the Kaveri river. Early literary sources attest his existence in an authentic manner. The second capital of the Kalabhras was at Madura. They used the Prakrit language and were inclined towards Jainism. But by the sixth century they had become

Tamilised, had merged with the local people and gradually became devotess of Brahmanical gods. From a republican set up they changed over to a kingly rule as was done by some of the republican people in the North. At the end of the sixth century the resurgent Pandyas in the South and the expanding Pallavas from Kanchi put an end to their rule and they sank to the position of feudatories. They, however, continued long in this subordinate position in pockets in Tanjore, Puddukottah, Salem and other districts.

The Kalabhras minted and circulated enormous quantities of copper coins, mainly inscribed, for over 300 years. These coins were not read and identified by earlier numismatists. For the first time I read and indentified their coins and in my article on Kalabhra Coinage.[1] I have described them in greater detail. I have been pursuing this study which has yielded new informations.

On early Kalabhra issues figures of animals like tiger, elephant, horse, fish etc. are found. In rare specimens a seated Jain *muni*, or a *swastika* sign or the short sword, or the symbol of Bodhisatva Mañjuśrī are seen. The Prakrit inscription on the other side in Brahmi script invariably reads *Achuvikanta Kalabhra*. Towards the sixth century the coinage undergoes a lot of changes. The scripts used were both Brahmi and the newly evolving Tamil. The legend is bilingual, using both Prakrit and Tamil. Figures of Brahmanical gods and goddesses seated and standing are found in profusion.

But the most remarkable change noticeable is the appearance of a heavily robed standing figure on one side and a seated figure on the other side : this is the famous so-called Ceylon-man type. This indicates that the old republican ideas had given place to those of royalty. These coins are the precursors of the famous Rajaraja's Ceylon-man type from 10th to 12th century and of a similar earlier Pandyan coinage.

I have elsewhere published an article[2] on King Kootran, the Kalabhra saint. The recently discovered sensational Ramnad district Tamil inscription is that of a king Kootran, son of Sendan. The date of the inscription cannot, in my opinion, be fixed earlier than the sixth century as the Tamil letters therein are well developed. Sundarar, the great saint of Tevaram fame, Nambi Andar Nambi of the eleventh century and Sekkizhar, the famous author of Periapuranam, of the twelfth century, sing the praises of a saint Kootran or Kootruvan, one of the 63 Saiva Nainars. He was a great conqueror and brought the whole of the South under his rule. He was an ardent devotee of Lord Nataraja of Chidambaram. Nambi Andar Nambi clearly calls him a Kalabhra. I do not think that there is any difficulty in identifying the saint Kootran with King kootran of the Ramnad district inscription.

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[1] *JNSI* Vol. XXXV, 1973, pp. 142-154.

[2] *The Sunday Standard* of 15-7-79.

It is easy to presume that such a king would have issued coins in his name. In a recent preliminary search of my collection I have found a few Kootran coins. They have on one side figures of tiger, elephant etc. and on the other side double line rectangles indicating probably fields. Some of the legends can be read as *Kootran.* In Eliott's *Coins of Southern India* on some so-called Kongu coins similar designs are found (Nos. 123, 124, 125 and 127 of plate III). On some coins *Kootran* in very small letters can also be read. Kootran legend seems to be found in some early Ceylon-man coins also. These preliminary findings I hope to confirm.

Kootran apparently left no able successor. The South and Madura particularly seemed to have passed through a time of troubles in the middle of the sixth century with weak kings and invasions from Mysore side. The resurrected Pandyas under Kadungon captured Madura about A.D. 535, and put an end to Kalabhra domination in that area and at the same time the Pallavas from Kanchi under Simha Vishṇu overran Tanjore, Trichy and Puddukottah districts. The Kalabhras became feudatories under these rulers and continued so till the tenth century.

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
...110111

A NOTE ON A NEW GOLD COIN OF JAYAVARMAN

DOLLY MAKHERJEE

(Pl. I.3)

The present paper introduces a new gold quarter dramma of Jayavarman of the Chandella dynasty. The coin, which is preserved in the Cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta may be described as follows :-

Reg. No. C.18110
Metal : Gold
Shape : Round
Weight : 19.07 Grs. (1.04 gms)
Size : 11 mm. (min. 1.10 x 1.14 max. cm.)
Provenance : Not known.

The obverse of the coin shows Nagari legend in two lines :

Śrī maj (ja)
Ya varma (deva)

The reverse bears as usual a rude figure of the four armed goddess (Lakshmī) seated nimbate whithin a dotted border. The arms of the goddes are indicated by four lines, upper pair possibly holding lotus stalks with the traces of lotus buds on either side of the goddess and the lower one spread at her sides.

This seated goddess device, initiated by the Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva, influenced the coinage of the contemporary and neighbouring dynasties of northern and central India to a great extent. Amongst the dynasties which followed Gāṅgeyadeva, were the Chandellas of Mahoba, the Tomaras of Delhī, the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj, the Chāhamānas, the Paramāras, and even Muhammed bin Sam, who conquered Delhi in the last part of the 12th century A.D.

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[*] **Photograph obtained through the courtesy of the Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta, who has kindly permitted me to publish it.**

However, in the context of the coin under discussion, the numismatic issues of only two dynasties (i. e. the Chandellas and the Paramaras) are to be taken into consideration, since the name Jayavarman is common in two dynasties and the rulers of both the dynasties issued coins bearing 'Seated goddess' device.

The coins of the Chandella rulers are available from the middle of the eleventh century A. D. Those of the early rulers of this dynasty are not known to us. The Chandella coins so far reveal the names of as many as eight rulers of the dynasty. Kīrttivarman (1154=A. D 1098)[1] is found to have been the first Chandella king to strike coin in his own name. On his gold issues he introduced the 'Seated goddess' device which he probably adopted from the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva circulating in the Chandella dominion when it came under the temporary occupation of the Kalachuri king Lakshmīkarṇa, the son and successor of Gāṅgeyadeva. This type was subsequently continued by his successors for their gold and silver issues. For their copper issues they replaced the 'Seated goddess' device with the figure of 'Hanumān' under a canopy[2] which bears a close resemblance with the 'Ādivarāha' type of coins of the Pratihāra king Bhoja I.[3]

After Kirttivarman, we have the coins of Sallakshaṇavarman, Jayavarman, Prithvivarman, Madanavarman, Paramardi, Trailokyavarman and Viravarman. Six of these rulers issued gold, copper and rarely silver coins but no gold coins of Jayavarman and Prithvivarman have so far been recorded. Jayavarman, the son and successor of Sallakshaṇavarman ascended the throne in or about 1173 V. S. (1117 A. D.)[1] and after a short reign, he abdicated in favour of his uncle Prithvivarman, the younger brothers of Sallakshaṇavarman. Consequently only a few copper coins and a silver coin[2] of Jayavarman arc so far known to us. The copper coins depict on the reverse 'Hanumān' under canopy and his name *'Śrī majjaya varmadeva'* in Nagari letters on the obverse. Only one of his copper coins depicts a flying 'Hanuman'.

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[1] According to Deogarh Rock inscription, the only available date of Kirttivarman is 1154 V.S.=A.D. 1098

[2] According to M.G. Dikshit, a warrior, *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 68–74. For further details regarding the device see L. Gopal, *Coin Types of Early Mediaeval India* p.38 and Foot-note 1.

[3] See N.S. Bose, *History of the Cnandellas*, p. 183.But the later Chandella rulers seems to have used 'Seated goddess' device on their copper coins also. This is evidenced by the fact that the British Museum possesses one copper dramma of Madanavarman bearing 'Seated goddess' on the reverse and two other copper drammas in which the name of the king is obscure but one of the names appear to be Vīravarmadeva. It, therefore, seems that possibly the later Chandellas used both 'Hanumān' type and 'Seated goddess' type on their copper issues.

The Paramāras held sway over a large part of Central India and Rajasthan for several centuries but their numismatic evidence is very meagre. Only a few coins of the Paramāras are known to us. In fact, a few gold conis of Udayāditya or Udayadeva[3] (A. D. 1060- 1087), and two coins of Naravarman[4] (A. D. 1097-1111), the son of Udayāditya of this dynasty, have so far been recorded. There are two Jayavarmans (i. e. Jayavarman I : A. D. 1192-1200 and Jayavarman II : A. D. 1256-60) in this dynasty, who were contemporaries of the Chandella rulers Paramardi (A. D. 1167-1202) and Vīravarman (A. D. 1261-1286) respectively. But the coins of neither of these Jayavarmans nor their immediate predecessors and successors are known to us. On the other hand, the issues of the Chandella rulers are available from the middle of the eleventh century to the end of the thirteenth century A. D.

So far as this coin of Jayavarman is concerned, the palaeography of the inscription on its obverse and the stylistic representation of the deity on the reverse closely resemble those on the earlier series of the Chandella issues.[5]

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[1] According to Khajuraho Stone inscription the only known date of Jayavarman is 1173 V. S.=A. D. 1117

[2] Only one silver coin of Jayavarman is recorded by Cunningham—*CMI*, pp. 77-78. As the silver coin is not illustrated, the inscription on the coins under study has to be compared with the copper coin of the same ruler illustrated in his Plate VIII, No. 17.

[3] The name *Udayāditya* is found on coins as *Udayadeva.* One gold coin of this ruler is published by R. C. Banerjee in *N.S.*, Vol. XXXIII, p.84, art. 203, pl. XIII No. 2. For another gold coin see B.B. Bidyabinode, *Supple. Vol. of IMCC*, Vol.I, p63. A third coin of this king is with Mr. J. Deyell, who brought it for exhibition at the conference of the N.S.I. held at Burdwan, in December, 1978. This is a unique piece in a good state of preservation.

[4] One gold and one silver coin. *JNSI*, Vol. XXX, p. 208, Pl. IV, No. 3, 4.

[5] Cf. i.) *IMCC*, Vol. I, Pl. XXVI, Nos. 8, 9, 10 for coins of Paramardi, Trailokyavarman, Viravarman);

ii) Cunningham, *CMI*, Pl. VII, Nos. 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20 for coins of Kīrttivarman, Sallakshaṇavarman, Jayavarman and Madanavarman, Thus the legend and the deity on the coin under study are comparable to those on the coins of Kīrttivarman, Sallakshaṇavarman, Jayavarman and Madanavarman and not with those on the coins of Paramardi, Trailokyavarman and Vīravarman, as the latter are stylistically different. In this connection special attention is drawn to the execution of the obverse legend on the copper coin illustrated by Cunningham[1] which is almost similar to that of the obverse legend of this coin.

Under the circumstances, in the absence of further authentic evidence to the contrary, the present gold coin is to be attributed to the Chandella Jayavarman and not to any of the Paramāra kings of the same name.

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[1] See *ante* footnote No. 2 and *CMI*, Pl. VIII, No. 17.

A NEW ADDITION TO THE KSHATRAPA HOARDS FROM VIDISHA DISTRICT IN MADHYA PRADESH.

C. KRISHNA

(Pl. II)

During the process of acquisition of Treasure Trove finds by the Madhya Pradesh State Archaeology and Museums Department, a unique Kshatrapa hoard containing forty-eight small circular silver coins was obtained through the Vidisha Collectorate in 1972. These coins were reported from village Vabachia in Vidisha district. After final acqusition and chemical treatment, they have been kept in the Directorate of Madhya Pradesh Archaeology and Museums.[1]

The original find-spot, which falls within the region of Betwa valley in the Daśārṇa area of eastern Malwa, carries a legacy of the past. This falls within the long. 77°25' to 78°21 East and lat. 23°-21' to 24°41 North.[2] Besides this hoard, a number of other identical Kshatrapa coins are already reported from the Besnagar excavations. These coins are mostly in Western Malwa type. The dated coins and the Brāhmī legends may often give us the chronological accuracy. They enable us to know about the Kshatrapas and the Mahā-Kshatrapas ruling over this region.[3]

The information available from these coin legends are further corroborated and correlated from the Kanakhera inscription found near Sanchi in Raisen district.

Since the area under study was included in the territory of the Kshatrapas, it is quite natural to get these coins. The type under discussion is more or less common and identical with the coins of Indian Museum Calcutta and British Museum. Coins of early Western Kahatrapas ruling over Malwa have

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1. Collector of Vidisha's letter No. 2/67-68/B-10 dated 24. 3. 1972 to the Director, Archaeology and Museums, Bhopal.
2. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII, p. 104-106.
3. K. D, Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, pp. 99-101,

been reported also from several districts of Vidarbha in Maharastra and Sonpur in Chhindwara district and Eran in Sagar district of Madhya Pradesh.[1]

It is a known fact that small circular silver coins replaced the earlier square copper coins. They were made on the model of Greek hemidrachms in the third century A. D., and were later copied by the Guptas.

On plaeographic grounds the coins under study fall within the range of third and fourth centuries A. D.[2]

It is also known that the title of Kshatrapa was conferred upon the heir apparents by the ruling king who himself assumed the supreme title of Mahākshatrapa.[3]

Besides the palaeographic data of the coin legends, the dates and titles, which change from time to time, reveal the chronological order and evolution of types. The Greek type copied by the Kshatrapas was continued by the imperial Guptas. The title of Mahākshatrapa was either replaced or continued with the title Kshatrapa or Rajan or with both the titles.[4] The word Rajan prefixed Mahakshatrapa or Kshatrapa.

The title of Kshatrapa, meaning "the protector of the land" was used by members of the Kardamak family of Malwa who ruled from 1st to 4th centuries A. D. Some times the title Mahakshatrapa was replaced by the title Kshatrapa after loosing the soverignty to others.[5]

The present collection includes coins of the kings of Kardamaka family from Rudradaman I to Swami Rudrasimha III. It confirms the early discoveries and also fills up gaps. As the Brāhmī legends on the reverse of the coins are not complete, they can be ascribed to the issuing king only on the basis of the compounds and portraits.

This hoard helps in connecting the genealogical list of the Kshatrapas. It forms an important addition to the three important hoards found at Jogalthambi, Kathiyawad and Jaswaniya and sporadic collections in Madhya Pradesh

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1. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, 1962, Parts I and II p, 27.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV 1963 part II p, 169.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, 1966, part I, p. 48.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol XXVIII 1966 part I p. 48.
5. Vasudeva Upadhyaya, *Ancient Indian coinage*, p. 133-144.

and Maharashtra. The imformation available from these coins supplements what was known from P. J. Chinmulgund, V. V. Mirashi, P. L. Gupta and K. D. Bajpai. Most of the types tally with the published coins of British and Indian Museums.[1]

On the basis of the Brāhmī legends given on the reverse and bust given on the obverse, this hoard of 48 small circular silver coins can be roughly ascribed to Kshatrapa rulers detailed below. Some coins remain unidentified since thay do not contain complete inscription. On the basis of the compounds, bust and name, these are tentatively classified into 14 groups.

Most of these coins bear common symbols although they differ in the legends. The coins are described below :

Type 'A' Rudradamn I s/o Jayadaman

Obverse	*Coin No.*	*Reverse*
Bust of King	1	Chaitya of three arches surmounted by crescnt, beneath waved line, star, border of dots and inscription in Brāhmī character. *Jayadama putrasa Rajño Rudradamana*

Type 'B' Damajadśri s/o Rudradaman I

Bust of King	2	*Jayadama putasa Rajño Maha..........Damajaśri*
	3	*Rajño Maha Kshatrapasa putrasa Rajño Damajadaśri.*

Type 'C' Rudrasimha I s/o Rudradaman

Bust of King	4	*Rajño Mahakshatrapasa............................ Rudrasimhasa Rajño*
	5	*Rudradama putrasa Rajño Kshatrapasa*
	6	*Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Rudradama .... putrasa Rajño Rudrasimhasa.*

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[1] V. A. Smith *CCIM*, *Ancient India*, p. 193.

Type 'D' Satyadaman s/o Damajadsri I

Bust of king	7	*Rajño......Mahakshatrapasa Satyadamana.*
	8	*Rajño......Mahakshatrapasa Satyadamanah.*
	9	*Rajño......Mahakshatrapasa Satyadamanah.*
	10	*Rajño......Mahakshatrapasa Satyadamanah.*

Type 'E' Rudrasena I s/o Rudrasimha I

Bust of king	11	*Rajño Mahakshatrapa Rudrasimha putra Rajño Kshatrapasa Rudrasena.*

Type 'F' Samghadaman s/o Rudrasimha I

Bust of King	12	*Kshatrapa Rudrasimhasa putra Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Samghadaman.*

Type 'G' Vijayasena s/o Damajadsri II

Bust of King	13	*Rajño Kshatrapasa Vijayasena*
	14	*Rajño Mahakshatrapasa putrasa Rajño Vijayasena*

Type 'H' Rudrasena II S/o Viradaman

Bust of King	15	*Rajño Kshatrapasa Viradama putrasa Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Rudrasena*
	16	——do——
	17	*Kshatrapasa Viradama putras*
	18	*Rajño Kshatrapasa Viradama putrasa Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Rudrasenasa*

Tyye 'I' Viśvasimha S/o Rudrasena II

Bust of King	19	*Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Viśvasimhasa*
	20	*Rajño Mahakshatrapa Rudrasena putrasa Rajño Kshatrapasa*
	21	*Rajño Kshatrapasa Viśvxsimhasa*
	22	*Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Viśvasimhasa*
	23	*Rudrasena putrasa Rajño*……… *Mahakhatrapasa*
	24	——do——

Type 'J' Bhartridaman S/o Rudrasena II

Bust of King	25	*Rudrasena putrasa Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Bhartridāman*
	26	——do——
	27	——do——

Type 'K' Viśvasena S/o Bhartridaman

Bust of king	28	*Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Rajño Kshatrapasa Viśvasenasa*
	29	*Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Kshatrasa Viśvasena.*
	30	*Rajño Mahaksnatrapasa Bhartridamna putrasa Rajño Kshatrapasa Viśvasensa*

Type 'L' Rudrasimha II S/o Swami Jivadaman

Bust of king	31	*Swami Jivadma putrasa Rajño Kshatrapasa Rudrasimhasa*
	32	--do--
	33	--do--
	34	—do—

Type 'M' Swami Rudrasena IV S/o Swami Simhasena

Bust of King	35	*Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Swami Rudrasenasa*

Type 'N' Swami Rudrasimha III S/o Swami Satyasimha

Bust of king	36	*Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Swami Satyasimha putrasa Rajño Mahakshatrapasa Swami Rudrasimha*
	37	—do—
	38	—do—

Incomplete Coins

Bust of King	39	*Rajño Mahakhatrapasa putrasya*
	40	*Mahakhatrapasa*
	41	*Swamis Jivadam putrasa Rajño Kshatrapasa Rudrasenasa.*
	42	*Rudrasena putrasa Rajño Mahakshatrapasa*
	43	*Rajño Mahakshatrapas......Swami Rudrasimhasa*
	44	*Rajño...........*
	45	*Mahakshatrapasa Rajño*
	46	*Rajño Rudradhana......Rudrasimah*
	47	—–do—–
	48	Three lines.[1]

Conclusion :

This hoard sheds a new light on the Kshatrapa genealogy of Malwa. The date on the obverse of the coins is not clear. The coins are in a poor state of preservation, the symbols appearing on them are three arched chatiya, circle in dots, triangular lines, wavey line, moon, star, and border of dots. The Brahmi letters are retained on the reverse side. There is some similarity in the Brahmi letters *Ha* for *na*, *Ma* for *vi*, *Ra* for *pa* and *ja* for *ka*.

The three arched chaitya symbol represents the relation of the ruler with Buddhism. The other symbols such as crescent, moon and star, reflecte their migration from North-Western part of India to the Malwa region.

The weight and value of these coins telly with the coins of Taxila and Ujjain. The discovery of new coins mentioned in this paper will provide an answer to E. J. Rapson's doubt about the coins of Rudradama II and Swami Satyasimha.

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[1] [The Editors are not satisfied with the reading of the legends.]

A NOTE ON GANGA FANAMS

KUMUDINI ACHARYA

(Pl. IV: 1a & 1b)

12 small gold coins known as Gaṅga fanams were discovered from Badasantha Maṭha located in Markaṇḍeswar Sahi of Puri town. Badasantha Maṭha is a well known Maṭha of Vaishṇava sampradāya and belongs to 12th century A.D. The place is 60 kilometers from Bhubaneswar, the capital of Orissa. In 1969 I happened to visit the above Maṭha with the Superintendent of Orissa State Museum to acquire the coins. I learnt from the Executive Officer that after a heavy rainfall the coins came out from the soil and people of the Maṭha collected them. I saw the find spot of the coins.

In Orissa after heavy rains people fiind small gold pieces at many old historical sites. They are nothing but Gaṅga fanams. I myself saw in Chaudwar in Cuttack district of Orissa small boys and girls running in heavy rains to a mound to collect gold. R. Subba Rao[1] and Walter Elliot[2] also mentioned that after heavy rains fanams are recovered.

Similar gold coins of different denominations of the so-called Gaṅga rulers have been found throughout Orissa, for example from Balangir, Balasore, Puri, etc. Most of these coins have been preserved in the coin cabinet of Orissa State Musuem, Bhubaneswar.

Historians and scholars are of opinion that these coins were meant for *Pūjā* purposes. It is doubtful if they were used in daily transactions in the society for purchasing the necessaties of life. This need was fulfilled by cowries which are known to have served as the medium of exchange in Orissa from 8th–9th century to the begining of the 19th century.[3] But we have no direct evidence to know the relation between these coins and cowries during this long period.

The discovery of so many hoards of Gaṅga fanams of different denominations in many districts of Orissa shows that it was a type of currency in earlire times. The kings had issued even the lowest denominations of the gold coins to serve the needs of all sorts of transactions.

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[1] *Coins of Southern India*, p.148

[2] *JAHRS*, Vol. V, part–IV, p.249

[3] *OHRJ*, Vol. II, p. 11

Whether these coins were minted for the purpose of *Pūjā*, *Dāna* or *Dakshiṇā* is doubtful. On the reverse side, just above the numerical symbol, the proto-Oriya letter *sa* is found which is the contraction of the word *Samvat*. Out of devotion the name of 'Śrī Rām' or other religious symbols like conch shell, *Śivaliṅga*, crescent or royal insignias like bull, tiger or fish may occur on a coin. But the mention of the regnal years, without any reference to the name of the king has no significance at all, whether in the temple offering or free gift coins.

These fanams, which are no more current but are found in considerable numbers and have curious devices, are difficult to explain. But very few of these coins receive the attention of the numismatists and only a few find their way to the cabinet of a Museum.

The coins are round in shape. Their size ranges from .8 to 1 cm. and the weight varies from .307 to .436 gm. In 9 coins there is a bull with conch shell. Only on one coin there is a crescent above the bull. One coin has the figure of a fish. Other figures, howevre, are not very clear. They are blurred. On the last coin it is not clear whether we have a tortise or a crab. On the reverse we find numerals. The letters preceding the numerals on coins No.9, 11 and 12 are not traceable.

On the basis of the study of numerals and letters, these coins can be assigued to ths 12th or 13th century A.D. The details of the coins are as follows.

Obverse	*Reverse*
1. Seated bull	*Sa*–8
2. do	*Sa*–7
3. do	*Sa*–
4. do	*Sa*–
5. do	*Sa*–8
6. do	*Sa*–7
7. do	*Sa*–8
8. do	*Sa*–9
9. do	–not traceable
10. Bull with crescent	*Sa*–9
11. Figure of fish	numeral–10 (legend is not known)
12. Not clear	numeral–2 (legend is not clear)

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4. *Bhāratīya Pārchīana Lipimālā*, Plate LXXV and LXXXVI.

REATTRIBUTION OF THE BULL-TYPE BILLON COIN OF KHUSRU

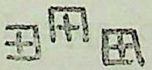
JOHN S. DEYELL

In a brief note entitled "An Interesting Coin of Nasir-ud-din Khusrau" in this journal. Devendra Handa has described a bull-type billon coin which he attributed to the Delhi Sultan of that name, circa A.H. 720/ A.D. 1320.[1] As some wide-ranging historical conclusions were inferred from the coin, it would seem to be important to ensure the correctness of the attribution.

The coin is described as billon, round, 1.4 to 1.5 cm. in diameter, and 3.09 gms. in weight. The obverse features a bull to left, with a Devanagari legend above, which the author recreates as [खुसरो] स [शॅ] ाह, i. e. "[Khusro] sa [śa] āh" or "Khusro Shah". Most of the purported legend would appear to be illegible. On the reverse within a dotted circle, is an Arabic legend which he renders as السلطان / المظفر / السلاطين / خسرو i. e. "*al-sulṭān al-muzzafar al-sulātīn khusrū*".

An enlarged illustration of the coin is also given.[2] Close inspection reveals that the coin is not a unique issue of the pretender to the Delhi throne, Nasir-ud-din Khusrū, but is in fact a rather common coin of the last Ghaznavid ruler of the Punjab, Taj-ud-dault (alias Suraj-ud-daulat) Khusru Malik. A correct description follows.[3]

Obverse : Within a dotted circle, stylized figure of a bull to left, with cross on hindquarter, dot on *jhūl*, and dot on hump. Highly stylized legend in Devanagari above :

 which represents श्री सम i. e. *Śrī sama*

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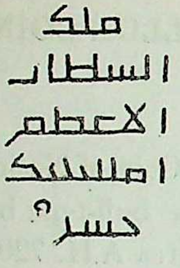
[1] *JNSI*, XL (1978), pp. 134-135.

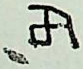
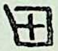
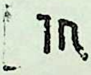
[2] *Ibid*, Pl. II. 13.

[3] Derived from no. 588 in Poole's volume and nos. 804 and 805 in Mitchiner's volume cited in the bibliography at the end of this note.

Reverse : Arabic inscription in five lines,



ملك	*malik*
السلطان	*al-sulṭān*
الاعظم	*al-āẓam*
المستنجد	*al-mustanjid*
خسرو	*k̲h̲usrū*

The bull/Arabic-legend type of copper and base silver coin formed a staple currency of the Ghaznavid rulers, and appears to have circulated widely in the North-West Frontier and Punjab.[1] Indeed, the provenance of find of this coin was Ludhiana District, Punjab. On the early Ghaznavid issues the fabric of the bull side was very similar to the Hindu Shahi bull-and-horseman prototype; by the time of Khusru Malik both the bull motif and legends had degenerated into a geometric stylization. The obverse legend here shown is merely a truncated remnant of the original *Śrī Sāmanta Deva*. On this particular type the terminal *ī* of the word *śrī* has become attached to the initial *sa* of *Sama* (nta). The *ma* akshara is unrecognizable, being three uprights. On successive issues of Khusru Malik's bull-type coins one can trace the progressive degeneration of the *ma* akshara from  through  to . The reverse legend is not fully visible on the Handa specimen, but enough is present to confirm the reading against published specimens. The names and titles of Khusru Malik (ca. A.D. 555-582) occur with the name of the then ruling Caliph, Al-Mu stanjid (ca. A.H. 555-566). So the period of issue of this coin must be about A.D. 1160-1170. Since this is a century and a half before the time of Nasir-ud-din Khusru, the coin has little bearing on the communal politics of the Delhi Sultanate.

Since it is over a century since the last notice of the later Ghaznavids in an Indian publication,[2] I take this opportunity to append a bibliography of works which contain illustrations of the minor coinage of Khusru Malik (in chronological order by year of original publication) :

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[1] For a general survey of this currency see Pratipal Bhatia, "Bull/Horseman Coins of the Sultans of Ghazna, A.D. 1030-1186" *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Bhubaneshwar Session, 1977, pp. 765-773.

[2] C. J. Rodgers, "Coins of Khusru Shah and Kharram Malik, the Ghaznavi Kings of Lahore", *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1879, p. 178.

Edward Thomas, *On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni*. London, 1848, 120 pages, 3 plates. Cf. pl. 3, no. 153.

Stanley Lane Poole, *The Coins of the Mohammadan Dynasties in the (British Museum, Classes III-X*. London, 1876, 279 pages, 8 plates. (Reprinted in Bologna, Italy, 1967). Cf. pl. VI, nos. 581, 585, 588.

W. H. Valentine, *The Copper Coins of India, Part 2, The Panjab*. London 1914, 266 pages incorporating illustrations in text. (Reprinted in London, 1971). Cf. p. 201, nos. 651-658.

Michael Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and Their Values. The World of Islam*. London, 1977, 511 pages incorporating illustrations in text. Cf. p. 152, nos. 802-805.

SHAMSABAD : A NEW MINT OF YUSUF SHAH OF BENGAL

A. H. 879-885/A. D. 1474-81

G. S. FARID

(Pl. V. 13-15)

Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah, the son of Barbak Shah, ascended the throne in 879/1474. Farishta[1] and Nizamuddin[2] describe him as a pious, scholarly and literate monarch having administrative capabilities. He entrusted the Ulema with the task of enforcing strict Islamic Laws in the land. He also imposed total ban on drinking wine. He was just and benevolent and often assisted the judges in dispensing justice. Two of his mosques, which speak of the architectural grandeur of the age, have survived to this day in Gaur.

All the coins of Yusuf Shah were issued either from *Khazana* (Treasury) or *Darul Zarb* (Mint), but no specific mint name has so far been recorded except on one British Museum coin where the mint has been doubtfully read as Sonargaon.[3] Probably Yusuf Shah adopted the policy of a centralised mintage practised by his father Barbak Shah. Another noteworthy feature of his coin is that some coins have the word *Abu al Muzaffar* while others have *Abu al Mujahid.* Further, he abondoned the title of *Khalifat Allah* and adopted Kalima, though two of his inscriptions[4] contain the said title. In one of his coins Kalima and the name of the four companions of the Prophet have also been added.[5]

Recently, an interesting coin of Yusuf Shah has come to light bearing the mint name of Shamsabad, dated 884. The description of the coin is as follows :—

Metal : Silver
Weight : 11 gm
Size : 24 mm

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[1] J. N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal, Muslim Period*, page 136.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *B M C*, Coin No. 92

[4] Blochmann, *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal*, pp. 70-157.

[5] *IMC*, Coin No. 151.

Obverse	*Reverse*
لا اله الا الله	شمس الدنیا والدین
محمد رسول الله	ابو المظفر یوسف شاه
شمسابادع ٨٨١	سلطان بن باربکشاه
	سلطان بن محمود
	شاه السلطان

The border ornamentation on both the obverse and the reverse is the same and contains 13 semi-circle concave curves. At the both ends of the semi-circle there are three dots, one over and between the two. The belly of the semi-circle concave curve possesses two dots one over the other at the centre. **(Pl. V. No 13)**

The new coin bearing the mint name of 'Shamsabad' is unique: There has been no place known by the name of Shamsabad in Bengal, though there is one in the Furrukhabad district, U. P. Since this lies outside the boundary of Bengal, the logical conclusion is that Shamsabad is the synonym of Gaur as was Mahmudabad, Husainabad, Nusratabad etc. of Nasiruddin Mahmud, Husain Shah, Nusrat Shah respectively and does not indicate any separate locality.[1] It was generally the practice of the Sultans to give their name to their capital in order to perpetuate their memory.

The date of Yusuf Shah's reign is controversial. According to Nizamuddin,[2] Salim,[3] Blochmann,[4] Sarkar,[5] Wright[6] and Karim,[7] Yusuf Shah ascended the throne in 879/1474.

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1. H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 141-142.
2. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Trans : De and Beni Prasad, page 436.
3. *Riaz-us-Salatīn*, Trans : A. Salam, page 119.
4. *Op. cit.* page 104.
5. *History of Bengal*, page 136.
6. *Op. cit.*, page 169.
7. *Op. cit.*, page 79.

The date of his death, according to Nizamuddin[1] and Salim,[2] is 887/1481, but, according to Blochmann,[3] Sarkar,[4] Wright,[5] and Karim,[6] it is 886/1481.

In order to ascertain the correct date of Yusuf Shah's reign, a study of not only his coins and inscriptions but also those of Barbak Shah, Sikandar Shah and Fath Shae is essential. Yusuf Shah,s earliest coin is dated 880,[7] whereas his inscription is dated[8] 879 and, latest coin and inscription are respectively in[9] 884-885.[10] From this evidence it appears that Yusuf Shah reigned from the year 879 to 885 i.e. 1474 to 1481 A.D.

The latest coin of Barbak Shah is dated 878[11] and his latest inscription is also dated 878[12] In the absence of Barbak Shah's coin and inscription of the date 879 and the availability of Yusuf Shah's inscription of the same date, the later's date of accession may be fixed as 879/1474.

Now, the presence of Yusuf Shah's latest inscription of 885[13] and the absence of any coin or inscription of the date 886 indicate that his reign ended in 885/1480–81. Further, there is in existence in a private collection, a coin of Sikandar Shah II dated 885 which shows that he succeeded Yusuf Shan on that date and leads to the conclusion that Yusuf Shah difinitely died in 885.

Riaz[14] says that Sikandar Shah was deposed on the same day on which he was raised to the throne; *Ain* gives him half a day; and *Tabaqat* gives two and a half days and Stewart gives him two months. In view of Sikandar Shah's coin, Riaz's and *Ain's* date is not tenable, because in that case Fath Shah also would have ascended the throne in 885 for which there is no evidence. Hence, Sikandar Shah either reigned for two and a half days or two months in the last days of the year 885 or in the early part of 886. That is the reason why there is no coin of Yusuf Shah of the later date. The Presence of Fath Shah's coin of 886[1] marks the commencement of his reign.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 436.
[2] *Op: cit.*, p. 119.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 104.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 136.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 169.
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 97.
[7] *Suppl. IMC.*
[8] A-H.Dani, *Analysis of the Inscription of the Sultans of Bengal.*
[9] *BMC.* No. 92.
[10] Blochmann, *Op. cit:*, pp. 71-72 .
[11] Hoernle, *JASB.*, 1883, pp. 219-220.
[12] Dani, *Op: cit:*
[13] Blochmann, *Op.cit.*, pp. 71-72,
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 76

The period of reign of Fath Shah hitherto accepted is based on his earliest recorded coin of the year 886/1481 and his latest recorded inscription from Satgaon dated 892/1486.[2] According to Syed Mahmud Hasan, an inscription of Fath Shah in the British Museum is dated 893/1487.[3] Therefore, Fath Shah's period of reign is now fixed from 886 to 893/1481 to 1487.

It is thus concluded that

1. Yusuf Shah reigned from 879 to 885/1474-81.
2. Sikandar Shah II reigned in 885 for two and a half days or two months.
3. Fath Shah reigned from 886 to 893/1481-87.

The coins of Yusuf Shah are of seven types which are as follows :–

Type 1 : Obverse bearing Kalima, mint and date in a circle with arabesques at the margin.

Reverse bearing the legend *Shams al Duniya wa al Din Abu al Muzaffar Yusuf Shah Sultan Ibn Barbak Shah Sultan Ibn Mahmud Shah Sultan.*

Reference : *IMC* No. 150 (Illustrated); *Corpus*, Type A (Illustrated); *BMC* Coin No. 92 (Illustrated).

Note : Wright in *IMC* No. 149-150 and Karim in, *Corpus* Type A, wrongly describe the legend as being in a circle deleting the marginal ornamentation. Lane Poole does not give the reading of the marginal design. The illustration, however, clearly shows the arabesques at the margin. Secondly, the word *Sultan* after *Yusuf Shah* has been omitted by both the authors. Thirdly, the

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1. *IMC*, Coin No. 153,
2. Dani, *Op.cit*, page 89,
3. *JASB*. XIII, 1968, page 50,

word *Bin* instead of *Ibn* has been read before *Barbak Shah* by Wright. Further, in *IMC* No. 150, Wright gives the reading *Dar Alif* (درالف) on the obverse, whereas Lane Poole and Karim suggest the word *Sonargawn*. The readings of all the three authors are incorrect. It is actually *Darul Zarb* - (دارالضرب) clearly visible in the illustration.

Type 2 : Same as above but the arabesques on the margin are different and the inscription appears to be in bold script. This is a new variety.

Reference : *CUM* No. 125 (Illustrated).

Note : Karim in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Cabinet of the Chittagong University Museum* (*CUM*) wrongly describes the coin in a 'Circle', which is actually in a circle with arabesques on the margin. He also wrongly reads the word *al Sultan* instead of *Sultan* as is evident from the illustration.

Type 3 : Same as above, but in a circle with different arabesques on the margin. This is an unrecorded variety. (**Pl. V. No. 14**)
Reference ; Farid collection.

Type 4 : Same as above but in plain area. An unrecorded variety. (**Pl. V. No. 15**)

Reference ; Farid collection.

Type 5 : The coin discussed above from Shamsabad mint.

Type 6 : Obverse bearing Kalima in a square within a circle. Marginal segments bear the names of the four companions of the Prophet. Reverse in a plain area bearing the legend *Shams al Duniya wa al Din Abu al Muzaffar Yusuf Shah al Sultan Bin Barbah Shah al Sultan Bin Mahmud Shah al Sultan*. Legend is underlined.

Reference : *IMC* No. 151, Corpus Type B; *CUM* No. 126 (Illustrated).

Note ; Wright has omitted the word *al Sultan* after *Yusuf Shah* and wrongly read *Sultan* instead of *al Sultan*. He has also failed to read the word *Bin* before *Barbak Shah*

Type 7--Obverse in a circle bearing Kalima and reverse in a circle bearing the legend *Shams al Duniya wa al Din Abu al Mujahid Yusuf Shah ibn Barbak Shah ibn Mahmud Shah Sultan.*

Reference ; Shillong Cabinet, Coin Nos. 2-7 (Illustrated). *Corpus*, Type C.

Note ; There are coins with different arrangements of letters.

HITHERTO UNKNOWN SŪRYA TYPE COIN ISSUED BY SULTĀN FATH SHĀH OF BENGAL

VASANT CHOWDHURY & PARIMAL RAY

(Pl. IV. 2-3)

In the coinage of Sultans of Bengal, the devices which have so far come to light are the figure of a galloping horseman[1] and grotesque lion.[2]

Recently, we could acquire for our collection, from our friend B. Jain of Calcutta, two coins of a similar type bearing the device of the Sun (Sūrya), issued by Sultan Fath Shah of Bengal. The coins in question are as follows :—

Coin No. 1

Metal : silver; Shape : round; Size : 26.70 mm in diameter; Weight : 10.50 grammes; Script : Arabic; Date : 886 A. H. (A. D. 1481); Mint : Dār-al-zarb.

Obverse :

In a circle the device of the Sun (Sūrya) with seven rays[3] drawn in a linear form, within the Sun a small circle with a dot in its centre; the Kalimah inscribed along the border outside the circle ending with the mint and date viz, Dār al-zarb 886.

لااله الاالله محمد رسول الله دار (۱) لضرب ٨٨٦

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1. See Nicholas W. Lowick, *JNSI,* XXXV, p. 198. and Pl. XV, 2.
2. (a) N. K. Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal,* Dacca, 1922, Pl. X, 9.
   (b) Authors, *JNSI,* XXXVI, pp. 83-87, Pl. IV.
   (c) Authors, 'A Unique Lion Type Coin of Fath Shah of Bengal', *Numismatic Notes and Monographs,* No. 17, Part II, pp. 18-20, Pl. II, 1 a & b.
3. "Kūrma-Purāṇa (Vaṅgavāsī, Ed., p. 188) says that the Sun has innumerable rays, of which seven are the chief. These are Suṣumnā, Harikeśa, Viśvakarmā, Viśvaśravā, Saṁjadvasa, Arbhavasu and Svaraka". Cf. N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum,* Dacca, 1929, p. 163.
4. We are grateful to Md. Nazrul, Curator, Coin Room, Indian Museum, Calcutta, for helping us with the reading of Arabic script on coin.

Reverse : In a circle, same Sun device as on obverse; continuation of legend in double circle along the border outside the circle.

ابو المجاهد السلطان ابن السلطان (-------)

فتحشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان

Transliteration :

(Outer circle) *Abūl-Mujāhid*[1] *al-Sultān*
ibn al-Sultan (portion obliterated)

(Inner circle) *Fath Shāḥ al-Sultān ibn*
Mahmūd Shāḥ al-Sultan

Pl. IV 2

Coin No. 2

Metal : silver; Shape : round; Size; 25 mm in diameter; Weight : 10.50 grammes; Script : Arabic; Date : 886 A. H. (A. D. 1481); Mint : Dār-al-arb.

Obverse :

Arrangement as on No. 1, most of the letters of the Kalimah are off the flan, two deep shroff marks in the margin.

(دار) لضرب ٨٨٦ لا اله (- -) الله ......

Reverse :

Arrangement as on no. 1, but the legend around inscribed in one circle.

فتحشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان

Transliteration :

Fatḥ Shāh al-Sultān ibn
Maḥmūd Shāh al-Sultān.

(Pl. IV. 3)

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[1] The *Kunyat* of Fatḥ Shah generally found on coins as well as on stone inscriptions as *Abul Muzaffar*, but here *Abul-Mujahid* is an exception.

The most important and intersting feature of the coins in question is undoubtedly the device of the Sūrya which has neither occured on the coinage of Sultāns of Bengal nor is known on any coin struck by the Muslim rulers of India. It is worthy of notice that the Sūrya device is inscribed on both the sides of coins possibly to maintain a total hormony between the obverse and reverse which shows the great aesthetic sense of its issuer. It may be mentioned here that the similar coin-type with devices on both the sides is found only on the coinag of Ratnamānikya,[1] a well known ruler of India's hill-bound north-eastern frontier state Tripura, who was ruling about two decades earlier of Fath's reign.

Sūrya, the Sun-god, is one of the important Brahmanical gods of the Hindu pantheon. With the discovery of the unique Sūrya coin issued by Fath Shāh, it may be assumed that the issuer had leaning towards Hinduism The Sūrya coin was struck in the first year of Fatḥ Shah's reign 886 A. H., along with the traditional issues with the legend on both sides. However, after a couple of years in 888 A. H , Fath Shāh also struck coins with a grotesque lion motif on it, which so far was discovered on coins of earlier rulers of Bengal viz., Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammed Shāh and Nāṣir-u-d-dīn Maḥmud Shāh I.

We know from medieval records that Fatḥ Shāh's reign lasted from 886 A. H. (1481 A. D.) to 893 A. H. (1487 A. D.).[2] He was murdered at the instigation of his Habsi eunuch Barbak.

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[1] See Authors, 'A Unique Grotesque Device on a Coin of Ratnamāṇikya of Tripura', published in *Coinage and Economy of Narth Eastern Stotes of India*, pp.116-117, Pl. V, 1 a & 1 b.

[2] See G. S. Farid, *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. II, Part. II, p. 74.

COPPER COINS OF NIZAM SHAHI RULERS OF PARENDA MINT

A. H. SIDDIQUI

(Pl. V. 1-12)

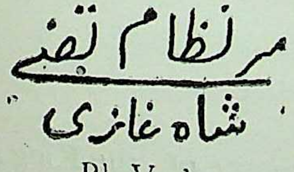
When Ahmadnagar, the capital of Nizam Shahi dynasty, was captured by the armies of Mughal Emperor Akbar in the year A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600)[1] and the Nizam Shahi King, Bahadur Nizam Shah, was sent as prisoner to the fort of Gwalior. Murtaza Nizam Shah-II, son of Shah Ali and grandson of Burhan I, was enthroned at Parenda with the active assistance of Adil Shahi king, Ibrahim Adil Shah-II. Murtaza II was supported by two Nizam Shahi generals, Malik Amber and Malik Raju. Subsequently, Malik Amber gained control over him and defeated the Mughal armies at Bir in the year A.H. 1009 (AD 1600).[2] Encouraged by this success he changed the capital firstly to Junnar[3] and then captured Daulatabad in the year A.H. 1016 (A.D. 1607)[4] from the rival noble Malik Raju and made it the capital of the Nizam Shah kingdom. In this article I present some copper coins of Murtaza II and his son Burhan III of Parenda mint.

1. Coins of Murtaza II of Parenda Mint

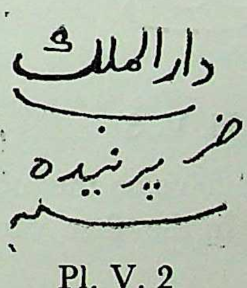
These coins are of two types :

Ist Type-Variety (1) :

Obverse *Reverse* Size : 1-9 cms. Wt : 14-90 gms.



Pl. V 1



Pl. V. 2

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[1] Elliot & Dawsan, VI, P:144. Forista III, p. 164; *Akbar-nama* III, pp.774-775, Bugg., III, p. 30) ff.

[2] *Maathir-ul-Umra*, I, p. 774.

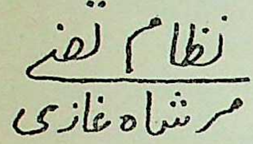
[3] Farishta, II, p. 166; Basatin, pp. 256-257.

[4] *EIM. Suppl*, 1933-34, p. 3; S. Ahmadullah Quadri, *Memoirs of Chandbibi, the Princess of Ahmadnagar*, p. 42.

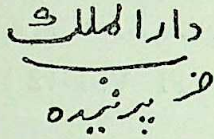
Ist Type-Variety (2) :

Obverse *Reverse*

Size : 1·6 cms.
Wt : 9·90 gms.


نظام تضی
مرشاه غازی

Pl. V. 9.


دارالملک
پیرنیده

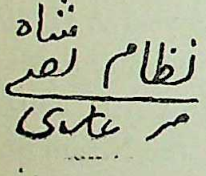
Pl. V. 10.

Note : Coin No. 6 has the reverse legend inverted.

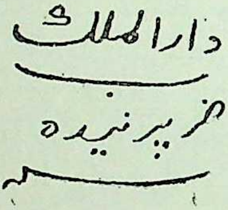
Ist Type-Variety (3) ;

Obverse *Reverse*

Size : 1·6 to 1·7 cms.
Wt : 9·80 gms.


شاه
نظام تضی

Pl. V. 3 & 5

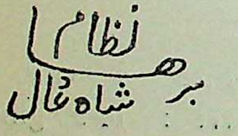

دارالملک
پیرنیده

Pl. V. 4 & 6

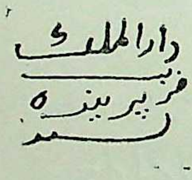
2nd Type :

Obverse *Reverse*

Size : 1·80 cms.
Wt : 10·007 gms,



Pl. V. 7



Pl. V. 8

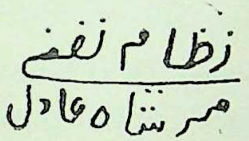
The coins of first type have on the obverse the name of the King as Murtaza Nizam Shah Ghazi. In the first variety of type (1) the letter Mur of the name of King مرتضی Murtaza are in upper half of the coin just preceding the word Nizam, while in the second variety the letters Mur of مرتضی Murtaza are in lower half of the coin just preceding the word

Shah شاه /. and in variety (3) the word Shah occurs at the top. The second type coin of this king has on the obverse the name of the king as Murtaza Nizam Shah Adil. Ona coin (Pl. V. 10) the date is visible at the lower side and it seems to be A.H. 1009 and so coins of first type are earlier issues than the coins of second type.

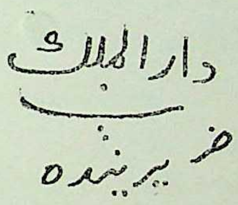
Coins of Burhan Nizam Shah-III of Parenda Mint

Metal : Copper. Shape : Circular. Size : 1.60 cm. Wt : 9.60 grammes

Obverse *Reverse*



Pl. V. 11



Pl. V. 12

This coin bears name of the king, Burhan Nizam Shah Adil on the obverse and the mint name Darul-Mulk Parenda on the reverse of the coin.

The notable peculiarities of these coins of Parenda mint are following :

(i) Whereas Coins of Murtaza II of Ahmadnagar[1] and Punanagar[2] mention the name of the king as Murtaza only without appending the title Shah or Dynastic appellative Nizam, these coins contain the name of the king Murtaza along with dynastic appellative and the regal title Nizam Shah.

(ii) The coins of Burhan III give the name of the king as Burhan Nizam Shah Adil, but the coins of this king of Daulatabad mint[3] have the name of the King as Burhan Nizam Shah Ghazi.

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[1] *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. I, Miscell. No. 23, p.

[2] *JNSI*, XXXVI (1974), pp. 140-141.

[3] *JNSI*, XXVI, Pt. II, Miscell. No. 15, p.

(iii) On the reverse of these coins the usual formula of the date Fi Shashur San or in the months of the year is missing.

(iv) While on all other coins of the kings of this dynasty the mint name is inscribed without any honorofic, these coins of Parenda mint have the honorofic Darul-Mulk or 'The gateway of the country'.

(v) The discovery of coins of Burhan III of Parenda mint shows that even after the shifting of the capital to Daulatabad the minting of coins from Parenda mint continued.

A NEW EAST INDIA COMPANY TOKEN

KALPANA GHOSH

(Pl. V. 16)

The present note relates to one East India Company token belonging to the collection of Indian Museum, Calutta. I am thankful to the Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta for permitting me to publish the coin and for kindly supplying me with photograph. The coin is described here under.

Metal : Silver, Shape : Circular, machine struck oblique edge milling, Mint mark : Cinquefoil (5 Petals). The cinquefoil mint mark was retained as on all coins from Calcutta and Murshidabad mints. Weight : 11.6 gms.

Obverse :	*Allan Hami—e-din Mahammad Shah* *Gangadhar Rasukul* *Registry Sonapatti kalkatta*	Usual Persian couplets found on Rupees of Shah Alam II.
Reverse :	*Maimanat Manus Sanah 19 Julus* *Mawafiq Zarb Murshidabad.*	(In the 19th Year of the associated with prosperity.)

(*Zarb Mawafiq Murshidabad* means struck resembling Murshidabad).*

It appears that our token is quite identical with the tokens discussed by Biddulph[1], Deyell,[2] and Abha Singh,[3] etc.

In John Deyell's token the following legend appears :

Sicca Fateh Din

Registry Shuba or *Shrah Hindustan.*

(Coin Fateh Din, Registered Hindusthan).

It may then be suggested that in our token Gangadhar Rashakul, means the name of a merchant or banker like Suraj Singh, Fateh Din, Nabi

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* I am thankful to my colleague, Md. Sami Ahmed for reading the Persian legend correctly.

1. *JNSI.*, XXI, pp. 176-177.
2. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 154-155.
3. *Ibid.*, XXXIX, p. 173-74.

Baksh,[1] Pyarelal etc. as discussed by different authors in earlier sessions of the Society.

One interesting point in our token, however, needs careful attention. The legend at the obverse says *"Registry Sonapatti"* which perhaps shows that it was minted at Calcutta mint of the East India Company.

Its minting date must be earlier than 1792 because of the following order, issued by J. L. Chavet,[2] Sub-Secretary, published by order of the Governor General in Council on 1st November 1792 which reads :

"......That all officers, gomasthas, and others employed in the collection of revenues,...and all persons Shroffs, Podars, Zamindars, Talukdars, Farmers and all persons whatsoever, be prohibited affixing any mark whatsoever to the coin and that all rupees so marked be declared not to be legal tenders of payment in any public or private transactions."

We shall now try to show that it was minted at the first mint of Calcutta which indeed was the second Company mint in Bengal.

In 1717 the Mughal Emperor granted the English, amongest other favours, the free use of the mint at Murshidabad but Nawab Zaffar Khan deprived them of the privilege. An article in the treaty made with Siraj-ud-daula in February 1757 gave the Company the right to establish its mint at Calcutta, and this right was confirmed by Mir Jafar.[3] The article of the treaty signed between Siraj-ud-daula and Clive provided that *siccas* (coins) be minted at Allinagar (Calcutta) in the same manner as at Murshidabad and that the money struck at Calcutta be of equal weight, standard and fineness of that of Murshidabad. This Parwanna for the Calcutta mint was granted by the Nawab in 1760 and the first coin was minted in Calcutta in 1762. Between 1762 and 1834 East India Company had two mints. Tikku[4], Master of Mints at Calcutta,writes that the site of the first mint is not known, and; that the crude specimens struck between the dies with a hammar were ready counterfeits of the Mughal coins. He also adds that with such primitive methods no special building would be necessary and possibly none was built.

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[1] *JNSI.*, XL, Parts I-II, p. 156.

[2] *Selections from Calcutta Gazetters*, Vol. 2, p. 71.

[3] *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XXII p. 32.

[4] Production of coins in Early British Day, P. K. Tikku, Master of Mint, Alipore, Calcutta, *V. M. Bulletin*, V, p. 14.

We agree with his hypothesis that no building of the mint was really built and from Thacker's Guide to Calcutta we come to know that the first mint was established at Falta[1] and not in Calcutta proper. The minting was done by contract with John Prinsep at Falta which is about 25 kms. north from Calcutta and very near to Barrackpore. It is also now known that Prinsep handed over his tools to the Company in 1784.

From the same source we also know that in 1791 a mint was established in Calcutta and its site was on the once flourishing ship-building establishment of the Gillets.

This information is also confirmed by Cotton[2] who writes that the mint stands in Church lane opposite St. John's Church on the site of the stationary office where Gillets ship-building establishment had once utilized the creek.

In Will's map of 1753, the Church lane is shown as leading to the creek and also in Wood's map of 1784-85 where the building numbered as 4 and 5. the western side of which was then on the river bank, are indicated as the old mint.

Thus, we now have some definite knowledge of the site of the first Calcutta mint (1791-1832) and that it was on the river bank in the same site along which now the Strand Road runs over which the second mint was built on a much bigger scale after 1832.

The most interesting point is that some of the area along the Strand Road is still known as "Sonapatti" among the local people and this perhaps proves that our token, where "*Registry Sonapatti*" is clearly written on the obverse, was minted at the Calcutta mint at its early stage between 1791, when it started functioning, and, 1792, when personal marks were no longer allowed on the coins minted at Company's mint.

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1. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVIII, p. 303
2. Cotton, : *Calcutta Old and New* p. 132, 325.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED COIN OF SIU-NGEU-PHA NGAM-MONG

J. N. PHUKAN

(Pl. IV. 4)

Sometime in 1978, Balwant Rai Datta, an officer in the Hindustan Fertilizer Corporation, Namrup in Upper Assam brought to the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of the Government of Assam at Gauhati some pencil stampages of an Ahom coin reported to have been collected from Dibrugarh. After having examined the stampages and the legends, which are in Ahom language and script, I tried to collect, through my friend Kamaleswar Gogoi of Namrup, photographs of both sides of the coin from Datta. Gogoi, however, procured a pencil stampage of the coin and sent it to me. With a view to examining the coin, I went to Namrup and met Datta at his residence on the 23rd of April, 1979. But to my great disappointment Datta informed me that he had taken the coin to Delhi earlier in the year and left it there. He was, however, kind enough to give me a pencil stampage of the coin.

I had thus no opportunity to physically verify the coin. But from the information supplied by Datta[1] as well as the pencil stampages of the coins[2] that I have examined, the coin appears to be a genuine one. The following discussion is based on : (1) the stampages which Datta left in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies at Gauhati in 1978, (2) stampage collected by Kamaleswar Gogoi, and (3) stampage that Datta gave me in Namrup.

The pencil stampages give the size of the coin as 22 mms. in diameter, but its weight is not known. It is reported to be a silver coin and its shape is octagonal like most Ahom coins.[3]

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[1] Sri Datta has in his possesion several other coins including a few Ahom coins.

[2] These pencil stampages of both sides of the coin are now with Sri Hemnath Barman of the said Department. I am thankful to him and to the Department for allowing me to examine the stampages.

[3] Excepting a few coins, which are square in form, all other coins of the Ahom rulers are octagonal in shape, although this shape could not be properly retained in the tiny coins minted in the reign of Gaurinathasimha.

The three-lined legends on each side of the coin reads as follows ;[1]

	Obverse	*Reverse*
first line	*khut*	*Siu-ngeu-pha*
second line	*si Leng-do*	*ngām-mong lāk*
third	*n heu ciu*	*ni Kāp-chou*
i. e.	*khut si Leng-don heu ciu.*	i. e. *Siu-ngeu-pha ngām-mong lāk-ni Kāp-chou.*

(Pl. IV. No 4)

The legends on both sides, when put together, run thus :- *KHUT SI LENG-DON HEU CIU SIU-NGEU-PHA NGĀM-MONG LĀK-NI KĀP CHOU.*

The image of the flying lion, the Ahom royal insignia, is seen facing left below the legend on the reverse side.

The legend is to be explained as below :[2]

khut-si : *khut* means to dig/to inscribe. Since it is followed by *si*, *khut-si* together means 'by inscribing'.

Leng-don : an Ahom god.[3] He is regarded as the 'Lord of Heaven'.

heu : to give/to bestow.

ciu : name

Siu-ngeu-pha ngām-mong : the Ahom title of the king.

lāk-ni : year

Kāp-chou : the name of an Ahom year.[4]

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[1] In fixing obverse and reverse sides of Ahom coins, the side of the coins bearing the name of the deity should be read as obverse. This opinion is also expressed by D. C. Sircar on paper entitled 'An Assamese Trade Rupee' by V. Chowdhury and P. Ray read at the Seminar on Coinage and Economy of North Eastern India organised by the Numismatic Society of India at Shillong in 1977, footnote 8. This is, however, contrary to the usual practice of scholars so long followed in regard to Ahom coins.

[2] I am thankful to Miss Ye Hom Gohain, Special Officer for Ahom Studies and Sri Nabin Shyam Pha-lung, Ahom Translator, both of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies at Gauhati for their suggestions in regard to the meaning of the word 'khut-si' and 'ngâm-mong'.

[3] The Ahom royal family claims descent from him. The *Āhom-Buranji*, edited and translated by B. C. Barua, 1930, gives a good account of Lengdon in Chapter II.

[4] The Ahoms followed a sixty-year cycle, each year having a name. kāp-chou is the name of the first year of the cycle.

The full translation of the legends will be "By inscribing, Leng-don gives the name Siu-ngen-pha ngām-mong in the Ahom year Kāp-chou".

The name "Siu-ngeu-pha ngām-mong" as we know from other sources such as the chronicles compiled in Ahom language and copper plate inscriptions, is the Ahom title of King Lakshmisimha, who ruled the kingdom of Assam from A. D. 1769 to 1780.[1] He succeeded his elder brother Rājeśvarasimha who died in 1769. The Ahom year *Kāp-chou* which appears in the coin legends is the first regnal year, and when converted is equivalant to the year A. D. 1769.[2] Lakshmisimha's coins bearing legends in Sanskrit language with date in *Śaka* have been reported much earlier and included in the catalogue of Ahom coins.[3] But no coin bearing legends in Ahom language has been reported earlier. This is the first of its kind so far discovered, hence it is a rare Ahom coin.

It may be noted here that we have already coins of Siu-pong-mong *alias* Chakradhvajasimha (1663-61), Siu-yat-pho (1669-73), Siu-hung (1675-77) Siu-pāt-pha *alias* Gadādharasimha (1681-96), Siu-nyeu-pha *alias* Pramattasimha (1744-51) and Siu-rem-pha *alias* Rājeśvarasimha (1751-69), the predecessors of Siu-ngeu-pha ngām-mong bearing legends in Ahom language.

The discovery of this coin has its importance in other respects too. It has often been held that by the middle of the eighteenth century the Hinduisation of the Ahoms was complete and that the Ahom rulers had adopted Hindu gods and goddesses to the exclusion of their original ones. It has also been claimed that the practice of minting coins bearing legends in Ahom language and character had altogether discontinued by the later Ahom kings. But the legends on this coin is yet another proof that the original Ahom deities, among them *Leng-don* is one, continued to recieve royal patronage till the reign of Siu-ngeu-pha ngam-mong *alias* Lakshmisimha who died in 1780. After him, the rule of the Ahom royal dynasty lasted for less than half a century till 1826.

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[1] See *Ahom Buranji* (*op. cit.*), pp. 314, 316, 326 and 335. A copperplate grant of this king is preserved in the Assam State Museum, Gauhati.

[2] Conversion rules of the Ahom *lāk-ni* may be found in S. K. Bhuyan edited *Deodhāi Asṣam Buranji*, second edition, 1962, Introduction, XXXIX-XLIV.

[3] See Botham, A. W. : *Catalogue of Provincial Coin Cabinet of Assam*, pp. 487-95.

A CURIOUS QUARTER PAGODA OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

VASANT CHAUDHURY & PARIMAL RAY

(Pl. IV. 5)

Pagoda standard silver coins were introduced in the monetary system of Southern India by the East India Company under a Proclamation made on the 22nd August 1807.[1] The coins were again redesigned and better struck about the middle of 1808.[2] All these coins have their values expressed in English, Persian, Tamil and Telugu. The edges are oblique milled. This is the first departure of a pagoda coin type from a native fashion to a European one.

Bidie says, "the gold and silver pagodas of the East India Company with the figure of a temple on the reverse are comparatively modern and it seems more probable that this device was adopted with reference to the prevailing European designation of the piece, than that the coin was called Pagoda on account of its bearing the figure of a temple."[3]

History records that the term pagoda, as applied to a coin, was introduced by the Portugese but the derivation of the term remains obscure. Prinsep says that it (Pagoda) is "a Portuguese appellation derived from the pyramidal temple depicted on one side of it."[4]

However, by a Proclamation dated 19th June 1812 minting of silver pagoda standard was adopted by the Company although other coins were to continue to remain in circulation as legal tender.[5]

About a couple of years ago, we could acquire from a friend, B. Jain of Calcutta, a curious quarter pagoda coin declaring it in English inscription as "*PAPAGODA*" instead of "*PAGODA.*" The coin in question may be described as follows :—

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[1] Cf. F. Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations,* 1975 Vol. 1,part. 4, p 36.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[3] G. Bidie, 'The Pagoda or Varaha Coins of Southern India' *JASB,* Vol. LII, Part. 1, 1883 pp. 34 & 35.

[4] Thomas, *Princep's India Antiquities,* useful tables' p. 17.

[5] Pridmore, *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

Metal ; Silver; Shape; Round; Size 26. 30mms;
Weight ; 10.72 gms;
Milling ; Oblique; Type : Second issue,
redesigned in 1808, Date ; not recorded.

Obverse. Gopuram of a temple with nine stars on either side, surrounded by a garter with buckle below. On the garter the value is inscribed clockwise, inward form (1) in English beginning from about VIII ......*QUARTER. PAPAGODA* and (2) in Persian starting from

III پاو ہون پھولے *Pau hūn*[1] *phūli.*

Reverse. Erect figure of the deity Swami (Vishṇu), with left hand holding a club which rests on the ground, surrounded by two circles of dots; hanging lamps made of dots on either side, some ornate designs show below the lamps, Swami is placed on a linear drawn throne and the whole is enclosed in a ribbon with forked ends above, separated by a star, on the ribbon value in Tamil and Telugu, inscribed anticlockwise in outward form, (1) Tamil beginning from XI கால்வராகுன் *Kāl varā*[2] *kuṇ*, (2) Telugu beginning from VI ∘ కాలవరహూన్ *Kāi varā hūn.*

(Pl. IV. 5)

On the obverse the value in Persian means "Quarter of a flower (or star) pagoda", but in the Tamil and Telugu on reverse it simply mentions

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[1] *Hūn* is a Hindustani corruption of *hnnu*, Kanarese for "a half pagoda". See, C. J. Brown, *The Coinage of Southern India*, footnote. 1, p. 57.

[2] The common Tamil name for the pagoda is Varaha.........or Boar...the symbol of Chalukyas and Kings of Vijayanagar or the image of Vishṇu in the Varāha avatar, Bidie, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

"Quarter pagoda". It is worthy of notice that no spellings mistake has occurred in the Indian languages. But curiously, the value in English inscribed on the coin under discussion has spelt wrongly as "*PAPAGODA*"[1] which should have been "*PAGGDA*". It may easily be assumed that the die-maker while engraving a certain die had erroneously put two extra letters viz., "PA" before the word "*PAGODA*" which resulted in a curious expression of value on the coin. Incidentally, Pridmore has also noticed a mis-spelt variety of pagoda coin bearing the value as "PGODA".

It may be mentioned here that counterfeit specimens of the pagoda coins are common and often show mis-spellings of the English inscription but such forgeries may easily be detected by their straight grained edges like that on modern English coins.[2] Certainly there should not be any doubt about the genuineness of the present coin as it has oblique milling on the edge like a section of a rope, as appears always in the genuine pagoda.

The coin under review is surely an erroneous production but curiously the spelling mistake has occurred only in the English inscription which was struck under the banner of the East India Company.

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2. D. Chakravarty in his *Nineteenth & Twentieth Century Coins of India*—1979. MS9 (b), p. 13, refers to a PA-PAGODA coin type. But he neither gives any description nor publishes an illustration of the coin.

3. (i) *Op. cit.*, Bidie, p. 52, (2) *op. cit.*, Pridmore, p. 69.

RELIGIO-MYTHICAL BEARING OF THE REPRESENTATION OF ZAUS ON INDO-GREEK COINS

A. N. LAHIRI

Religion inspires formation of myths around gods and goddesses; myths lead to the development of codes of iconography; and iconograbhy guides the artist to depict figures of divinities according to these codes.

In the matter of chosing their subiects creative artists all over the world and at all times have been deeply inspired by mythical lores. This is also the case with semi-commercial artists, who have to work according to the wishes of their patrons. Artists who engraved the dies of coins, for instance, were also in very many cases called upon to depict motifs or devices of coins on some aspect of a god or goddess, as known from religio-mythical account. Coins of ancient India, whether issued by indigenous authorities or by foreign rulers, have demonstrated this fact again and again. And when we take up the non-regal devices of the coins of the Greekkings on Bactria and India, we see that they have almost invariably some religio-mythical bearing. However, we would here examine the devices of Indo-Greek coins that relate to the myths concerning Zeus, the supreme Greek god.

Mythical lores concerning the Greek religion, like those of all polytheistic religious concepts, concern themselves with Cosmogony (or the Creation of the Universe) and Theogony (or the accounts of the birth of Gods and Goddesses), which were but creations of religious teachers or myth-makers. In order to strike a note of awe and reverence and to impress one of the inherent greatness of a supposedly eternal religion its teachers and preachers had to tell people how the Universe was created and how Gods and Goddesses dominating it came into being; and in doing so the teachers or myth-makers had always to introduce supernatural and dramatic elements in their mythological lores. For, divine beings, like Nature's major components, but unlike the humans, had to be eternal and invariably immortal.

Simultaneously, or somewhat subsequently, when the question of representing the individual divinities arose, pedantic and scholarly section of the religious teachers set itself to work out the details of the physical features of various gods and goddesses together with their dresses, ornaments weapons and chracteristic attributes. And in many cases a particular mount (*vāhana*) was set apart for a particular divinity. Codification of all these characteristic features of gods and goddesses is technically known as iconography, the science of icons or images of Divine Beings, which, it is needless to say, go well with the letter and spirit of the concerning myths. In fact, authors of iconographic codes would always formulate their injunctions according to the roles that the respective divinities played in mythical accounts, and the status they enjoyed in the community of devine beings.

However, mythology invariably gave rise to iconographic codes, and mythical ideas aided by those codes were ultimately rendered into concrete visual forms. Both the mythical concept and the codified iconographic features of a divinity were duly taken into account by the artist who finally gave a visual form to one of its aspects by a piece of painting or sculpture. Thus, when the artist was called upon, for instance, to depict Zeus in one of his special aspects, he did it in befitting manner by following the injunctions of the established codes of iconography. But a truly creative artist would not allow his work to be crippled by the rigid injunctions set up by any cannon of iconography.

Greek mythology provides us with the accounts of the birth of Zeus, the king and father of gods and men, his miraculous activities, and his prolonged conflict with the Titans, the elder gods. Devices of Indo-Greek coins represent many of the aspects of Zeus and depict some of his action pictures. It would be interesting to narrate in brief the basic concepts of the Greek religion and some myths that surround Zeus.

Devices of Indo-Greek coins make it abundantly clear that the Greek kings followed a polytheistic religion. The Indo-Greek rulers worshipped a great variety of gods and goddesses like the Hindus. Their religious pantheon was crowded with a host of divine beings, many of whose anthropomorphic representations in stone were installed in Greek temples for worship. Greek divinities, like their Brahmanical counterparts, were conceived in human form and were often connected by kinship. As we see, Zeus, the supreme Greek god, like other mortals, had a father and a mother, brothers and sisters, wives and children. Furthermore,the Greek deities were conceived in the forms of human beings, and, like the latter, had both virtues and vices; but they were far more powerful and beautiful than men and women,and to crown all, were invariably immortal.

According to Greek mythology, Cronus, a son of Gaia (the Mother Earth) and Uranus (the starry Heaven to cover Gaia up) and the youngest of the twelve Titans, was afraid of being supplanted by his children. So one by one he swallowed the first five of them as soon as they were born. When, Zeus the sixth child, was to be delivered, Rhea, the sister-wife of Cronus, gave the latter a stone wrapped up in swaddling cloth, instead of the nowlyborn baby which Cronus promptly devowered Thus escaping the fate of Rhea's other children Zeus flourished in the care of nymphs and in one year's time miraculously grew into a mature manhood. When Cronus by chance discovered him, he was overpowered by fatherly affection. Zeus entertained him with a huge goblet of cunnigly drugged wine, which made Cronus to vomit out the five children and the stone he had swallowed up. But by the time Cronus recovered from his upset condition Zeus gathered his brothers and sisters and flew to the safe heights of Mount Olympus, which since became the permanent abode of the Greek gods. Cronus with the other Titans waged a ten-year war against his rebellious children. It was by protecting himself with the terrorising *Aegis* and by striking the Titans with his devastating *Thunderbolt* that Zeus utterly defeated the Titans and condemned them for good to the unholy depths of Tatarus. Zeus thus became the king of gods and the lord of Heaven his two brothers, Poseidon and Hades, became the lords of the Oceans and the Internal Region respectively, while the Earth remained common to them all. Zeus took his sister Hera to marriage and ruled the Heaven.

Zeus showered deserving blessings and miseries to mankind, and everybody looked to him for redress of woes. He was conceived as a majestic old man with flowing beard. His weapons were the *Thunderbolt* and the *Aegis*. His attribute was the *Sceptre* and his mount, the *Eagle*. He took consel from his daughter Athena; and Nike, the winged goddess of Victory, was at his service in war-like adventures. Zeus would often sit upon a golden or ivory throne holding his *Sceptre* in a majestic pose.

However, Indo-Greek coins depict Zeus in his various aspects, either seated on his throne or as standing. Any way, he appears on Indo-Greek coins in different attitudes and with different attributes. We would here see how Zeus is represented on various Indo-Greek coins, specially of gold and silver, which alone provide us with correct representations

On silver coins of Heliocles the half-draped figure of Zeus is exhibited as 'standing to front, holding in the left hand the sceptre and in the right hand the thunderbolt in a lower level about the hip'.[1] Zeus is also shown in the same attitudes and with the same attributes on the unique silver coins of Demetrius III.[2]

Though Zeus on the silver coins of Archebius stands with the same two attributes, the manner of holding the thunderbolt is slightly different : there the sceptred Zeus raises the thunder-weapon much higher up above the head.[3] The artist-engraver who designed the device apparently failed to realise the subtle anomaly of the changed position of the thunderbolt. He evidently intended to present an 'action picture' by showing Zeus as raising the thunderbolt almost at the point of hurling it. But Zeus when he hurls the thunderbolt is certainly not expected to hold the unwieldy sceptre, but the protecting shield, which for Zeus was the *aegis*. Naturally enough, the apparent anomaly was rectified on later coins of Archebius : on those issues Zeus is shown as bearing the aegis (not the thunderbolt) in the slanting left arm and raising the thunder-weapon with the right hand, as if just to hurl it.[4]

But the device of the 'fulminating Zeus' as depicted on the later issues of Archebius, had been known in a suitably changed but more artistic manner. As on earlier Greek issues,[5] Diodotus I depicted on Bactrian coins the superbly portrayed heroic Zeus as naked and striding to left and bearing the aegis over the extended left arm and vigorously hurling the thunderbolt with the right hand, with his Eagle standing at his left foot with outspread wings.[6] This superb action picture verily reminds us of that dreadful scene, when standing on the summit of Mount Olympus Zeus was successfully using his two newly acquired terrorising and devastating weapons, the aegis and the thunderbolt, in his final bid to vanquish the almost invincible Titans, while his faithful mount, Eagle, stood at his feet with supreme awe and admiration.

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[1] See A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins* (henceforth cited as *CIGC*), pp. 134-35, pl. XIX. 8.

[2] See *CIGC*, p. 109, Pl. XII. 10.

[3] See *CIGC*, p. 100, Pl. IX. 3.

[4] See *CIGC*, p. 142, Pl. IX. 9.

[5] See C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, 2nd Edn., Pl. XXVI. 5 (obv.).

[6] See *CIGC*, p. 113, Pl. XIII. 9.

Zeus As Holding Out Hekate

An interesting concept of Zeus, unknown in Greek art, is superbly representing on the silver issues of Pantaleon and Agathocles. On coins of Pantaleon the sceptred Zeus is shown as 'seated on his throne to left' and hodling out in his extended right hand a tiny figure of the 'torch-bearing three-headed Hekate'.[1] Here Zeus is associated with the demigoddess 'Hekate of the Three Ways', who was traditionally worshipped at a place where three roads met.[2] With this hitherto unknown composite device the artist-engraver apparently wanted to indicate the precise location of the region where Pantaleon and Agathocles ruled. Tarn would take it to be some place in the Paropamisadae where three (trade) routes from Bacteria converged.[3]

On the silver issues of Agathocles, however, the attitude of Zeus is slightly changed, for he is there shown as 'standing to front' with his sceptre in the left hand and holding out Hekate in the extended right hand.[4]

Zeus Holding Out Winged Nike

The common enough device of the 'Enthroned Zeus 'Nikephoros' is seen on some rare Bactrian silver coins of Heliocles. Zeus is there shown as 'seated on his throne to left, holding sceptre in his left hand and carrying the tiny figure of 'winged Nike in the outstretched right hand'.[5]

Antialcidas, the king of Taxila, used the same device of 'Enthroned Zeus Nikephoros', but introduced on the scene another element which indicated some dramatic happenings.[6] On his coins we see Zeus seated on his throne holding sceptre in the left hand and holding out on his outstretched right hand the tiny figure of the winged Nike with her usual wreath and palm-branch, while an Elephant, whose forepart alone is seen, tries to snatch the wreath of Nike with varying results.[1] On some coins we see him entering the scene from the left with trunk uparised, apparently to seize Nike's wreath,[2] while on some other coins he is shown as retiring from the scene without that wreath [3] Then, some coins, again, make him reach for the wreath or actually seize it with his trunk,[4] and this successful attempt ends with his victorious retirement with the wreath in his trunk, as depicted on some other pieces.[5] The play does not end here. On a few specimens the Elephant is seen as raising his trunk to appropriate from the hand of the Nikeless Zeus the 'palm-branch of Nike', [6] whom he must have taken away in an earlier encounter. The final scene is depicted on some Indian tetradrachms, which give a finishing touch to this dramatic play. The proud and victorius Elephant is now shown as walking to the left, carrying on his head the wreath-and-palm-bearing Nike, while the Nikeless helpless Zeus goes with the Elephant in a sorrowful mood.[7] Evidently these various changing devices depict the sequence of events taking place as the result of a struggle between two parties, the 'Zeus party' and the 'Elephant party'. The struggle was not of a political nature involving Antialcidas and his political adversary, as hitherto believed [8] It was most probably of a religious character.

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[1] See *CIGC*, p. 165, Pl. XXVII. 7.
[2] See W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (*GBI*), p. 158.
[3] See *GBI*, p. 158.
[4] See *CIGC*, p. 76, Pl. II. 3.
[5] See *CIGC*, p. 135, Pl. XX. 1.
[6] One is conscious of the dramatic element, when one closely examines all the types and varieties of the silver coins of Antialcidas.

The Elephant who was celebrated *vāhana* (mount) of Indra, the Indian counterpart of Zeus, apparently represented his divine master. In fact, the struggle, as elaborately depicted on the coins of Antialcidas, was between the Zeus cult and the Indra cult, and Antialcidas, the Greek king of Taxila, was in a fix as to which faction he should join. As a Greek he would like to see his own god Zeus to win over his Indian opponent Indra; but the odds were too much against him in an alien soil. The Elephant failed to win victory for Indra in some of his initial attempts, but he succeeded in his later endeavours : he first snatched the wreath of Nike who stood on Zeus's hand, then he took away Nike herself, but her wreath remained in the hand of Zeus. In the next attempt the Elephant must have recovered the palm-branch from the hand of Zeus, and Zeus had no other alternative than to accept defeat, get down from his exalted throne and go along with the victorious Nike carrying Elephant. Thus ended the struggle between the Greek Zeus and the Indian Indra. The devices portraying the scenes probably indicate how Indianisation was taking place amongst the Greeks. Antialcidas realised, to his utter dismay, the futility of his endeavours to Hellenise his Indian subjects, when he saw, to his great amazement, that Heliodorus, his own ambassador to the court of the Vidiśā king Bhāgabhadra, embraced Hinduism.[1] Antialcidas for some time was not sure as what he himself should do to stick to the Greek ways of religious thinking or to get used to that of the Indians amongst whom he had to live for ever. The changing devices of his coins possibly illustrate his own mental struggle.

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[1] R. B. Whitehead noted this fact after making a close study of the coins of Antialcidas : see *NC* 1947, p. 30.

[2] Cf. *CIGC*. Pl. IV. 7.

[3] Cf. *CIGC*, Pl. V. 9.

[4] Cf. *CIGC*, Pl. V. 5.

[5] Cf. *CIGC*, Pl. V. 3.

[6] Cf. *CIGC*, Pl. V. 11.

[7] Cf. *CIGC*, Pl. V 13.

[8] See R. B. Whitehead, NC. 1913, p. 30.

Zeus Holding out Athena

Most silver coins[2] of Amyntas, a later Greek king of India, represent an interesting but otherwise unrecorded concept of Zeus. On Amyntas' normal coins the enthroned sceptred Zeus hold upon his extended right hands the tiny figure of helmeted Athena, duly armed with her aegis.[3] It is possible that this significant device was conceived by the artist-engraver of Amyntas' mint at a very critical time, when the king Amyntas was not sure if his patron god Zeus would be able to rescue him from his difficult position. Amyntas wanted that Zeus should take counsel from his daughter Anthena, who was noted for her great wisdom.[4] Hence the interesting device of Zeus holding out Athena. As we see, Amyntas was originally a 'soldier of fortune', who seized his master's throne at an apportune moment by driving him out. And this possibly is indicated by the rare series of his Indian tetradrachms, evidently his initial issues, which show on the reverse the figure of 'Thundering Anthna', which was evidently not his personal device but which he hurridly adopted from his erstwhile master's money at the very initial stage of his coin-issuing career.[1]

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[1] Cf. "The Besnagar Pillar Inscription of Heliodorus", D. C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*, 1st Edn., pp. 90–91.

[2] Silver coins of Amyntas show three distinct types : (1) Athena hurling thounderbolt, (2) Enthroned Zeus holding out Athena, and, (3) Enthroned Demeter holding a pair of callipers and cornucopiae. Of them, Type 2, i. e. Enthroned Zeus holding out Athena, are the commonest, and formed part of his normal coinage.

[3] *CIGC*, pp. 78-79, Pl. III. 1.

[4] Athena was begotten by Zeus upon Metis, Personified Wise Counsel; but Zeus, who apprehended that any child begotten upon Metis would be far more exalted and intelligent than himself, devoured her in her pregnancy. But consequent upon his swallowing of Metis Zeus had great pain in his head, which when cleft open, brought out fully armed Athena. Hence she was noted for her wisdom.

Zeus Holding out Eagle

Another Zeus device, which occurs only on a series of Agathocles' silver coins commemorating Alexander, the son of Philip, deserves incidental mention here. The device of these coins are but close copies of those of the silver issues of Alexander himself.[2] Their reverse shows Zeus as seated on his throne to left, bearing the sceptre in the left arm and holding out in his extended right hand his sacred bird Eagle.[3] Coins of this extraordinary series were issued by Agathocles as a means of propaganda agains his rival Eucratides I Megas to prove his royal pedigree.[4]

Zeus Holding out Callipers

Zeus as the measurer of eternal time is depicted on the coins of Hermaeus and Peucolaus. On the coins of Hermaeus Zeus is represented as seated on his throne to left, bearing the sceptre on the left hand and holding out a pair of callipers in the extended right hand.[5] The same sceptred calliper-bearing Zeus is shown on the silver coins of Peucolaus, but there the god is seen as standing[6] instead of sitting on a throne.

Indo-Greek copper issues depict the Zeus device, but the god is there shown not in his full figure; only his head or bust is seen, and naturally the concerned devices are not of any iconographic interest.

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[1] The specific device that an Indo-Greek king adopted for his silver issues was invariably continued throughout his reign. The change of device on silver coins takes place only in the case of an usurper, who generally initialiy adopted the device of the ousted king's coins but before long introduces his own *personal* device.

[2] Cf. C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, 2nd Edn., pl. XLVIII, 5-6. (Alexander's own coins) and *CIGC*, Pl. I. 9 (the Alexander-Commemortive coin of Agathocles).

[3] See *CIGC*, Pl.I.9.

[4] See *GBI*, pp. 446 ff.

[5] See *CIGC*, Pl. XXI.1

[6] See *CIGC*, Pl.XXWI. 12

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ART IN EARLY INDIAN COINAGE

O. P. SINGH

I

The coins are not simply metallic pieces for currency, they speak of trends of art traditions prevalent in the society as well. A.K. Coomaraswamy, J. N. Banerjea, K. K. Dasgupta, B. N. Mukherjee, etc. have brought out in relief the art in coinage. However, social background of this art has not yet received proper attention of the scholars. Here we propose to study the social aspect of art in early Indian coinage.

Coomaraswamy's observation that in "India, it (art) is the statement of a racial experience, and serves the purpose of life, like daily bread. Indian art has always been produced in response to a demand"[1] also holds good for artisans of coins or the mintmasters. The coins were minted by the mint-masters (artisans) in response to a demand. The mint-master or the artisan was under the control of the guilds or the state who were the author of the coins. "Art in coinage is a 'miniaturist' art and like a miniature painter the die-engraver or mint-master has to work minutely and meticulously within an inordinately limited space."[2]

II

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya sheds welcome light on the currency system. We find that the minting of coinage was under the control of the state. A coin was to be made of a combination of a certain proportion of bullion and alloy to be used as a token of money. According to the text, the coins were minted from bullion brought by the people for which manufacturing charges were realised and royalties levied.[3] We are told that *Rūpadarśaka*, another officer, was assigned the duty to examine the purity and weight of the coins which had long been in circulation. He examined also the new ones minted by private citizens in the royal mint. A supertintendent called *Lakshaṇādhyaksha*, was in charge of the manufacture of *rūpyarūpa*.[4] The artisans were employed by the state gold-smith to manufacture gold and silver coins from the bullion of citizens and country people without charging any brassage. From this account the following references may be deduced.

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[1] A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Introduction to Indian Art*. Introduction.

[2] K K. Dasgupte, *A Tribl History of Ancient India, p. 249.*

[3] *Arth.* ,II.14; Durga Pratad, *JASB*, 1954 (*NS*)No.XIV,P.45

[4] *Arth.* II.12

(i) The state appears to be acting like a manufacturer who had agreed to carry out definite orders apparently on a contractual basis.

(ii) The workshop of the state was the only authorised centre which produced and manufactured different categories of coins. A superintendent, paid by the government, had a supervision over a staff of the artisans.

(iii) It was like a factory where many labourers are engaged in producing certain types of objects with their manifold subdivisions and varieties, *viz.*, coins of different metals, weights and sizes.[2]

From Mauryan period onward currency was under the direct control of the state which gradually became more rigid under government that came to be established in successive periods.[3] Further it is to be noted that coins in the pre-Mauryan time were minted by the guilds or traders.[4]

III

A study of the *Arthaśāstra* makes it clear that a 'coin is thus like any other product of industrial labour.' A. K. Coomaraswamy has remarked that the 'industrial arts were mainly in the hands of the non-Aryan communities.''[4] According to R. S. Sharma, 'on the whole the social structure from the sixth century B. C. to the fifth century A. D. in mid-India may be called Vaiśya-śūdra based society in the sense that Vaiśyas were peasants, and Śūdras were artisans, slaves and hired labourers.'[5]

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1. *Arth.*, II.14.
2. B. C. Sen, *Economics in Kautilya*, p. 96.
3. *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, 1962, p. 74; U. Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India*, p. 61.
4. It is now generally suggested by the scholars that the punch-marked coins having the symbol of three arches with a crescent on its top, labelled as *Rājāṅka* symbol or the *Meru* symbol were the issues of Chandragupta Maurya. Therefore the punch-marked coins which does not show this symbol are assigned to pre-Mauryan time. Thus the coins having *rājāṅka* were minted by the state and the coins without *rājāṅka* were minted by private bodies.
5. R. S. Sharma, **Presidential Address, Indian History Congress, XXXVI, Session, Aligarh, 1975.**

The artisans in ancient India held no better status in life. Many of them were known as *Śilpins.* In the list of ancient *Śilpas* we find mention of various handicrafts.

In the Buddhist scriptures the crafts are denoted by the word *Sippa* and some lowely traders and professions are listed in the category of such crafts.[1] The Buddhist period saw the growth of towns and urban life. Naturally the industrial labour centred around the towns. Consequently, industry passed its rural stages.[2] Manu regarded the artisans as untouchables whose food should not be taken by the *snātakas.*[3] However, Kauṭilya, an orthodox politician, adopted a liberal attitude towards labourers. He asserted emphatically that washermen, weavers and various other labouring classes were an integral part of Aryan society and, therefore were Aryans.[4] Kauṭilya, however, introduced legislation to improve the conditions of the labourers and to raise their status in social and legal matters. He recommended that whatever salary was fixed for the labourers, the master was obliged to pay,[5] and the master was punished if he violated the rule. We find strict rules protecting the artisans. A person causing injury to a craftsman was liable to be put to death.[6] Kauṭilya prepared the ground for Aśoka who in his Rock Edicts XI and XIII laid a great emphasis on the good treatment of serfs and servants.[7] This liberal attitude infused energy in the veins of labourers (artisans) of the Mauryan mints who devotedly manufactured coins in large number to meet the huge expenditure on the large army of the state.

Artists and craftsmen, though having an indentical status in society, belonged to separate vocational groups or guilds.[8] These artisans did not have any individual status or identity. They had collective status and could be identified by their hereditary vocational designations. The inscribed coinage from Taxila bears the legends *negama*, *pañchanekama* etc. The coins of the *negama* series are often considered to be the issues of guilds of mer-

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1. *Suttavibhaṅga Pachittiya,* II.2.1.
2. P. C. Jain, *Labour in Ancient India.,* p. 90.
3. *Manu,* IV. 2.19.
4. *Arth.* III. 13.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.,* III. 19; cf. also Buddha Prakash; *Studies in Indian History and Civilization,* p. 190.
7. D.C. Sircar, *SI.* pp. 31, 35; cf. Buddha Prakash, *op. cit.,* pp. 199-200.
8. S. Mukherjee, *Some Aspects of Social Life in Ancient India,* p. 262

chants[1] without possibly any state control.[2] However, two copper coins of Kauśāmbī, now in the Allahabad Museum, bearing legend '*Gandhikānaṁ*' in Brāhmī are interpreted as "of the Gandhikas."[3] Thus it appears that sometimes the guilds took enthusiastic part in the field of currency.

However, gradually the social situation underwent a great change. 'Rigid laws guiding and restricting human relationships were relaxed and there was broadening of outlook in every walk of life.'[4] Workers engaged in minting received full and active patronage of the king. The Hāthigumpha inscription tells us that the first fifteen years of Khāravela's life were spent in games befitting a young prince, and in the study of matters relating to writing, coinage, etc.[5] This shows that the artisans of mint enjoyed good social status. They were not looked down upon by the Chedis of Kalinga. Khāravela in his early life passed some time in apprenticeship of a goldsmith (artisan).

In the Gupta period, owing to the prevalent social, economic and political situations the outlook of the legislators became more liberal and humane, they realised the dignity of labour and raised the status of labour class. Therefore artisans made substantial contributions in enhancing the prestige of art in the country. Gupta coinage is full of originality and vitality. It is a true representative of the pervading 'beauty culture' of that age.[6] This is conspicuous by the term '*rūpākṛiti*' on the coins of Chandragupta II.

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[1] This observation about the monetary aspect of these pieces was based on references to them as 'mercantile money token issued by traders' (Buhler, *Indian Studies*, III, 2nd ed. p. 49) or 'trade token' or coin of commerce' (Cunningham, *ASR*, XIV, p. 20).

[2] For the theory about the private minting of punch-marked coins see Smith, *Indian Museum Catalogue*; p. 133; Chakraborty, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics* (Calcutta, 1931) pp. 129-30, *JNSI*, XXIII, pp. 298-301; XXV, pt. I., p. 18. However, it is also believed that these coins were issued by the state, *ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 153, cf. also Benerjea, *Comprehensive History of Indiā*, Vol. II, p. 177. Upendra Thakur has rightly observed, "It is possible that these coins had a limited purchasing power, only within the respective *naigama* limits and not out side; *Mints and Minting in India*, p. 157.

[3] J. P. Singh, has observed that 'the mere existence of the pieces cannot be taken to prove that corporate bodies of traders issued coins to facilitate exchange of goods, and, further 'those coins donot indicate that they were struck by more than one guilds of the same town. (Negama And City Coins in *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, ed. Sircar, p. 105, For contra views see *Ibid*, p. 105. fn. 23.

[4] S. Mukhurjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 262--63.

[5] Sircar, *SI*, p. 214.

[6] *JNSI*, XII, p. 109.

IV

The early indigenous coinage shows an extensive use of symbols and devices. Modern scholars, generally accept their religious significance. 'From the religious point of view, the symbols no doubt indicate the tradition of aniconism which persisted even after the growth of iconism.'[1] A study of the symbols reveals various phenomena of the physical world, such as the sun, moon, river, mountain, trees, animals, etc.[2] The symbols and devices represented on the punch-marked, cast, local and tribal coins reflect the animistic faith. We also find the existence of the folk elements. An attempt has been made to show the 'animistic beliefs of the primitive age may have played a significant role in evolving the symbols that represented various natural phenomena as well as the animal world.[3]

In the primitive society a belief in animism dominated. Decidedly the earliest introduction of symbols may be seen on the seals discovered at the proto-historic sites of the Indus Valley. However, a striking resemblance may be seen between some symbols occurring on early indigenous coins and those found on the seals of Mohenjodara and Harappa. "Tree with the railing" seems to be the commonest symbol found on the punch-marked, cast and the tribal coins of early India. Trees enclosed by wall or a railing depicted on the sealings of the Indus Valley testify to 'an animistic belief manifested in the worship of tree-spirit'.[4] In the Epics the trees are often regarded as the resort of the Devas, Yakshas, Nāgas, etc.

Folk culture also influenced the art on early Indian coinage. The punch-marked coins show thefigures of animals, like elephant, bull, rhinoceros, rabbit, deer etc. The figures of bull and elephant also occur on local and tribal coins. A great variety of animal designs including bull and elephant occurs on the seals and sealings. V. S. Agrawala has suggested that these two animals (bull and elephant), regarded as *Mahā Ājāneya Paśu*, were held sacred much before the birth of Buddhism, and, their earliest traces are found in the Indus Valley and the *Ṛigveda*.[1] Moreover, the bull and the elephant, though common symbols of the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇic deities, were also gripped by the folk deities.[2] The *Bhāgavadgītā* refers to the horse with its best representatvie *Uchchaiḥśravā*,the elephant,with *Airāvata*,as its best example and the cow with its best specimen *Kāmadhenu* (substituting cow for bull as the object of worship in the prevailing cult). These names find place in a list of about forty *Devatas*, including such folk deities as Vaiśravaṇa, Yakshas, Skanda, Samudra, Aśvattha, Nāga, Garuḍa, Makara, Gaṅgā and Parvata, corresponding to the folk deities named in connection wrth religious festivals mentioned in the *Nāyādhamma Kahā*. It may be suggested that in the folk tradition the cults of these deities, including the bull and the elephant, had come down from a remote antiquity.[3]

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[1] B. Chattopadhyay, *Coins And Icons, A study of Myths And Symbols In Indian Numismatic Art*, p. 19.

[2] O. P. Singh, '*Religion And Iconography on Early Indian Coins*, Chapter I.

[3] B. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.* Chapter II; cf. also *Primitive Elements in symbols on Early Indian Coinage, 28th Session of the All India Oriental Conference*, 1976.

[4] cf. V. S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

There are many representations, , like zigzag or curved line, plausibly identified as serpent, occur on the punch-marked, local, tribal and Sātavāhana coins.[4]

Yakshas, derived from the pre-Aryan aboriginal traditions and considered as mighty semi-divine subordinate gods, occupied an important place in the Hindu, Buddhist and Jain pantheons of divinities. Some uninscribed copper coins of Ujjain show comparatively early representation of Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs.[5]

Sometimes, Hindu folk elements also made their way in the art of Indo-Greek coinage. On the reverse of the coins of Agathocles the female figure with long pendant in her ears, wearing trausers and holding a flower in her right hand, described by Whitehead as 'dancing girl'[6] has been rightly identified with Yakshiṇī Aśvamukhī[7] because of her 'long non-human head'. The figure of 'lotus Yaksha' occurs on the obverse of the coins of Telephanos.[8]

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[1] B. Chattopadhyay, *op. cot.*, p. 20.

[2] V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, p. 69, cf. also O. P. Singh, *Religion And Iconography On Early Indian Coins*, p. 6.

[3] O. P., Singh, *op cit.*, p. 8; V. S. Agrawala *Chakra Dhvaja.*

[4] For detail See O. P. Singh *op. eit.*, p. 85.

[5] J. N., Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 151.

[6] *Panjab Museum Catalogue*, p 17, Pl. II, 45.

[7] J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[8] Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 836, cf. also O. P., Singh, *op. cit.*,

Probably water was also considered sacred in primitive times. The wavy line on a few punch-marked, local and tribal coins may be regarded as the representation of a river. However, sometimes these wavy lines on the coins may be taken as representing a snake.

The figure of a mountain or the *chaitya* symbol occurs on the punch-marked, cast, local, tribal, Western Kshatrapa and Sātavahana coins.[3] According to R.G. Chandra the three arched symbol had in all probability a religious significance among the primitive predecessors of the Harappan people and the people outside India.[1]

The figures of the circles and crescent, regarded sometimes as the sun and the moon respectively, occur on the punch-marked, cast and local coins The figure of the sun, crescent, hill or mountain, the tree in railing, broadly speaking, represent the nature in its varied manifestations which were worshipped by the people. The unseen and mysterious forces of nature gripped the mind of the primitive man. The natural phenomenon like the sun, the mountain and the tree were supposed to be abodes of the spirit,as they respectively provide heat and light, protection and food, and shade and fruits essential for man's day to day life. Nature plays a dominant role in rural life. Thus, inspite of the trend for urbanization in northern India from c. 600 B.C onward the rural aspects influenced the mint artists. However, 'in rural set-up artisans were not as skilled as in towns. In village artisans and craftsmen worked as part-time workers when they were free from agricultural pursuits.'[2]

However, during the post-Mauryan period the foreign inroads brought about an urbanization of outlook in different spheres of life. Urban craftsmen were more skilled because they worked as full-timers.[3] The flowering of Indian art under the patronage of the Kushāṇas is to be seen not only in sculptures but also in the art of coin-making. Like sculptures the devices are in high reliefs. Numismatic art from the Kushāṇa to the Gupta period is marked by urban aesthetic sensibility and sophistication. We notice 'a galaxy of tiny bas-reliefs' on coin flans. These delineate various hobbies and achievements of the royal master. The king is busy in many acts as a horseman rushing towards his prey, shooting with a bow and arrow or striking with a sword a tiger or a lion; or attacking a rhinocerous with the sword from the back of a horse.[1] The lyrist type of Gupta coins show that the master of the battle-field was the master of music too.[2] A pleasing domestic life of a Gupta king is revealed by the king and queen on couch type of Chandragupta II's coins. Hoernle thought that Chandragupta Vikramāditya was shown holding a wine glass in his hand. Altekar is of opinion that he is holding a *sindūradānī.*[3] However S. V. Sohoni in his revised opinion has suggested that "a correct appreciation must be based on the fact that a spitton was shown near the couch."[4] In the *Vishṇudharamottara Purāṇa,* the king has been advised to take betel leaves after his luncheon.[5] Manu advised the king to talk to his ladies, after finishing his luncheon.[6] Perhaps Chandragupta II also, after finishing his meals, was chewing betels and having a chat with his queen.[7]

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[1] *Lacal Coins of Northern India*, p. 98.

[2] Kameshwar Prasad in *Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth Session of Indian History Congress*, 1977, p. 108.

[3] *Ibid.*

That Brahmenical art was remarkably creative in the Gupta age is shown not only by its sculpture, but also by its coinage. 'Some female figures on the reverse of the coins are slim and dainty full-bodied, livelely and graceful'.[8] The woman-and-bird motif depicted on the reverse of the Elephant rider-lion-slayer type coin of Kumāragupta I shows the refined taste of the urban life.

Fine taxtiles and a large number of rich ornaments depicted on coins were possible because of the growth of luxury industries. The classical taste is reflected by the buttoned coats and trousers and pearl–bordered cap of the rulers. Female ornaments are few but graceful. Further the artistic arrangment of pleats and folds of *dhotī* and *sārī*, the graceful way of wearing *dupaṭṭā* and knot's of *kamarband* testify to the aesthetic sense of the period.

Thus, the social aspect of art associated with early Indian coinage is marked with trends of rural and urban traditions.*

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1. O. P. Singh, *A Cultural Study in the Early Coins of India,* unpublished Thesis of Magadh University (1979). p. 340.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*; p. 140.
4. *JNSI*, XXIV, 1962, p. 238.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. O. P. Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109.
8. *JNSI*, X, p. 131.

* The author is highly indebted to Professor L. Gopal for his valuable suggestions for the article.

COMPLEXITIES IN THE STUDY OF EARLY MEDIEVAL COINS OF NORTHERN INDIA*

BELA LAHIRI

Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I must first of all thank the authorities of the Numismatic Society of India for electing me the President of its 67th Session. In doing so, they have made me the first woman to preside over the Society's Annual Conference in 67 years. I wonder what actually prompted the authorities to confer this rare honour upon me. Any way, I shall try to discharge the duties entrusted to me to the best of my abilities.

My illustrious predecessors in this chair have over and over again dwelt on the achievements of the Society, often in glorious terms. We are really proud that our Society has by this time successfully established itself as the only effective All-India institution for the study of numismatics. But that does not mean that there is no more scope for improvement of its position and further activities. In fact, there are still many ways in which the Society can endeavour to further the cause of numismatic researches.

I now strongly feel that the Society, which has all along encouraged private collectors of coins, must do something more constructive for them, for in doing so the Society will go a long way in fulfilling its aims and objectives. Besides museum and public institutions, private cabinets, both big and small constitute the greatest repository of the countrys rich numismatic heritage. So individual collectors of coins all over the country must get from the Society effective help, guidance and encouragement.

I happened to have some personal experience about the way in which rare and valuable numismatic specimens in various private collections lie unnoticed and unstudied and are often lost for ever. During our recent tour in the Gaya-Rajgir-Nalanda-Patna region we came across some private collections. And while examining the specimens of two collections Dr. Lahiri discovered at least two very important numismatic items. One was a 'unique silver punchmarked coin' which was recognised by him as perhaps the earliest known specimen of ancient Magadhan currency, while the other was a unique small 'copper punch' used in ancient Magadha for impressing symbol on coins. But neither of the owners of the concerned two collections appeared to be aware of the real value of the two pieces of metal, and one of them had already unwittingly disposed of two specimens similar to the unique silver punch-marked coin. Thanks to the recent craze for Indian coins among resourceful foreigners, many such ignorant collectors are being systematically robbed of rare and valuable coins, which ultimately find their way to foreign cabinets. Moreover, due to a wrong notion about the Registration of Antiquities Act, most of the private collectors are afraid to show their coins to experts, lest the knowledge of their possessions should lead to their eventual confiscation by Government authorities. They should be duly informed that coins do not fall within the purview of this Act. nor does the Act envisage confiscation of any item of a collection of antiquities.

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* Presidential Address at the LXVII Session of the Society at Bangalore.

It is for the authorities of the Numismatic Society of India to find out ways and means of registering various individual collections of coins in different parts of the country and arrange to make preliminary sortings of the coins of the registered collections, so that rare and valuable specimens may easily be available to scholars for proper study and publication.

The case of thousands of coins, unearthed in course of archaeological excavations, is often equally disappointing. They generally lie uncared for, uncleaned and unpublished for years, and even if noticed in brief reports or in official publications like *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, no serious student is in any way benefitted by the avilable information which is almost invariably void of necessary details. If, for lack of funds or for dearth of qualified personnel, the authorities of the Archaeological Survey or museums fail to publish coins in the proper manner with detailed descriptions etc-, they may at least publish in uniform booklets lists of coins in successive instalments, only with weights, measurements, stratigraphical positions and good actual-sized illustrations of representative specimens so that numismatists may utilise the vital information according to their respective requirements.

As we know, the critical study of the stratigraphy of different series of coins in an archaelogical excavation is greatly helpful in determining the relative chronology of their respective issuing authorities. It is gratifying to notes that Dr. Herbert Haertel's publication of the reports of the Sonkh excavation has confirmed the tentative chronology and sequence of the Mathura rulers, suggested by my humble salf on the basis of a critical and comparative study of their coins in my book entitled *Indigenous States of Northern India.* (c. 200 B. C. to 320 A. D.).

The Society may prevail upon the authorities of the Archaeological Survey of India for active co-operation with it in the matter of publishing reports of coins unearthed in course of various excavations and may even offer the services of experts for studying and publishing them.

It is high time that the Society builds up a numismatic museum of its own, suggested by Dr. A. K. Narain in his Presidential Address. The museum should have a representative collection of coins of all periods of Indian history with a paid whole-time curator to look after them. Besides actual coins, it should also possess electrotype replicas and plaster-of-Paris casts of various rare coins.

COMPLEAITIES IN THE STUDY OF EARLY MEDIEVAL COINS

In the field of Indian numismatics itself there are still certain obscure areas, which provide scope for further researches. And one such area relates to the Early Medieval Coins of Northern India.

Alexander Cunningham was the first scholar to deal with most of these coins in his *Coins of Medieval India* (1894). V. A. Smith duly listed various series of early medieval coins of Northern India in his *Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins* (Vol. I : 1906). Lallanji gopal's informative monograph entitled *Early Medieval Coin-types of Northern India* (1966) is the latest contribution on the subjeet. The department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology of the Lucknow University arranged a Seminar on "Early Medieval Coins of Northern India" (c. 500 A. D.) on the occasion of the Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of Indian in 1968; but unfortunately the concerned proceedings have not yet been published. Then, various stray articles on individual specimens or some particular series of these coins appeared in the pages of the *JNSI* and other Indian and foreign journals. Yet, a serious student of Indian numismatics feels the need of a comprehensive work on the compretively niglacted Early Medieval North Indian Coins.

This field of Indian numismatics attracted my attention as early as 1963 when, as a UGC Senior Research Fellow of the Calcutta University, I took up this subject for research and carried on some preliminary studies on it. But since I had to join the Jadavpur University very soon, I could not complete the work due to my consequent pre-occupation with teaching and other academic activities. I am, however, still working on the subject and would welcome other scholars to take it up in right earnest.

Any way, my present address will dwell upon the complexities, problems and importance of the coins of the Early Medieval period. It is now generally accepted that the early medieval period of North Indian History started roughly from about 600 A. D. and extended upto about 1200 A. D. i. e. the period covering some six hundred years following the downfall of the Guptas and the beginning of the Muhammadan supremacy.

The study of early medieval coins has to be made against the background of still earlier coinages of the country. As we see, coinages of ancient India comprised issues of greatly diverse nature, each region or dynasty having coins with its respective characteristic features. And in them was manifest the conspicuous conservatism of ancient Indian numismatics, which shows itself by the continuty of respective regional types inspite of political changes.

But when we take up a comprehensive study of the post-Gupta coins, we find a complete break in the numismatic traditions of India, for we are then unable to trace any characteristic regional or dynastic features in coins posterior to the Gupta issues, which were so prominent in the coins of the Guptas and their predecessors. Coins struck after the downfall of the Guptas, Irrespective of the dynasty to which they belonged or the regions from which they come, are all through marked by mediocrity, hopelessly lacking in originality and artistic merits. They are invariably derived or copied, often slavishly, from some Indian or extra-Indian prototypes which had an abiding influence on succeeding issues. And, as we see, no particular type became characteristic of any particular dynasty or locality. One specific type was used by rulers of more than one dynasty or region, while princes of a certain house adopted coin-type derived from different originals. In fact, coinages of the post-Gupta pre-Muhammadan period were conspicuously marked by stereo-typed features and signs of 'medievalism', such as, lack of originality, monotony of types, and inartistic workmanship.

However, in order to understand properly the characteristic features of the early medieval coins of Northern India, one must have some idea about the Ephthalite or Hūṇa coins, since most of the silver coinages of the period were virtually derived from the Sassanian originals through the medium of the Hūṇa currency. Hūṇas had no numismatic tradition of their own. So when they were called upon to mint coins, they had to take recourse to imitating or adopting the coinages of the foreign or Indian powers whose territories they overran and occupied in course of their onward march.

The Hūṇas adopted mainly the characteristic Sassanian type with the devices of the 'Bust of king' on the obverse and ' Fire-alter with attendants' on the reverse, for their silver issues. This type was carried by them into the interior of India and it served as the model for the standard silver currencies of most of the early medieval dynasties of Northern India. Besides the Sassanian-type coins, the Hūṇa Chiefs like Toramaṇa also struck some rare Gupta-type dated silver pieces of the 20-ratti Drachm standard with the devices of 'Bust of king' and 'Fan-tailed Peacock' for territories where this type was current during the Gupta rule. The Hūṇas also issued extensive copper coins which were derived either from Sassanian or from Kushāṇa prototypes.

ORIGIN OF EARLY MEDIEVAL COIN-TYPES

In order to study the early medieval coins we have first to trace their respective prototypes, which alone furnish certain bonds of union amongst these heterogenous series of coins. Accordingly, we may divide them into five main classes, besides some miscellaneous types. Three of them were directly derived from the Sassanian (through Hūṇa), the Kushāṇa and the Gupta originals, while the other two appear to have evolved by a curious manner of modification of these types and adoptation of ancient Indian devices.

Class I : Indo-Sassanian Types

Since the Sassanian prototypes gave rise to coins of Class I they are known as Indo-Sassanian issues. These coins are of both silver and copper. Silver issues of this class are commonly known as *drammas*, for they correspond to the Attic Drachms of the theoretical weight of 67.2 grains. These *Drammas* formed the standard silver currencies of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Malwa, Utter Pradesh, Bihar, etc. They are of two main types: one having Sassanian-style

Head on the obverse and fire-alter (sometime with two attendants) on the reverse, and the other showing crude figure of *Varāha* (Boar) on the obverse and legend in large characters on the reverse.

Some coins of the Sassanian-Head Fire-alter type are uninscribed, while others are inscribed. The thick dumpy coins of this type *without legend* commonly known as Gadhiya Paisas, come in great numbers from Gujart, South-Eastern Rajasthan, Malwa, etc. They had three stages of evolution, as shown by V. A. Smith.

Inscribed coins of this type bear legends either on the obverse or on the reverse. They are generally of broad thin fabric and commonly come from Rajasthan, Mewar, Marwar and the Gangetic Doab. Of them, those coming mainly from the Monghyr district have the legend *Śrī Vigraha* in large characters, replacing the Bust on the obverse, and are generally known as '*Vigrahapāla drammas*'.

The second type modelled on the Indo-Sassanian *drammas* bear on the obverse the figure of a curde *Varāha*, signifying the *Varāha avatāra* ('Boar Incarnation') of Vishṇu, and on the reverse legends like *Śrīmad Ādivarāha* and *Śrī Vināyakapālādeva*, attributed respectively to Bhojadeva I, the Gurjara-Pratihara king of Kanauj (who bore the epithet *Ādi-varāha*), and his grandson Vinayakapala.

Class II : Kushāṇa Types

Coins of Class II were derived from Kushāṇa originals depicting on the obverse the 'Standing King sacrificing at the Alter' and on the reverse the 'Seated Goddess (Ardoxsho)'. This type was obviously introduced by the Kushāṇa monarch KanishkaI in Kashmir and was the standard type for the Kashmir coinage for some twelve hundred years, which is a remarkable record in the numismatic history of India, if not of the whole world. After the adoption of the type by Samudragupta and its subsequent gradual Indianisation by his successors, there were some marked changes in the representation of the obverse Standing King and the reverse Seated Goddess. The devices, however, tended to be cruder and cruder in course of time untill they became almost irrecognisable.

The position of the Seated Goddess, however, was changed from the reverse to the obverse from the time of Pravarasena while the obverse device of the Standing King was transfered to the reverse; for it is seen that the first part of the name of the king (viz. *pravara-*) was now written on the obverse bearing the device of Lakshmi, while the second part (viz.-*sena*) was written on the reverse having the figure of the Standing King. Again, it is significant that the word *Kidara* appears on the Kashmir coinage upto the time of Sankaravarman, the first independent ruler of the Utpala dynasty, who did away with this word. Initially the word *Kidara* might have implied that the issuers traced their descent from Kidara, the little Kushāṇa Chief. But whether the word had the same significance all along, or was mechenically reproduced by later rulers, is not yet definitely known.

The only pleasing change in the monotonous Kashmir coinage was effected by king Harshadeva of the first Lohara dynasty. He issued in both gold and silver some coins with the ornate figure of an elephent on the obverse and the legend *Śrī Harshadeva* on the reverse. Kalhaṇa apparently referred to these coins in his *Rājataraṅgiṇi* (VII, 926) by saying that "As he was fond in his amusements of the Daksiṇātya (Dekkan) fashion, he introduced a coin-type (*ṭaṅka*) copied from that of Karaṇata". In fact, Kalhaṅa's statement is borne out by the fact that the Karnataka region is actually known to have produced gold coins (*Gajapati* Pagodas) bearing the ornat figure of an elephant. Harsha also used the Horseman type on the obverse of one series of his gold coins which bore the usual 'Seated Goddess' on the reverse. Harsha's copper coins were, however, struck in the stereotyped crude fashion of the Kashmir coinage.

There are also a large number of copper coins which betray both Indo Sassanian and Kushāṇa influence. Of them the more common type has the Kushāṇa device of 'Standing Śiva before his Bull' on the obverse and at least three varieties of reverse devices, viz. (1) 'the Fire-alter with attendants', (2) 'Trident' along with the letter *Tri* (probably standing for Trilochana), and, (3) various symbols like the Sun, trident etc. along with short legends reading, *Kota*, *Sruta*, *Ghuta* or *Ata*. Coins of the first two varieties are common in the Punjab and Rajasthan, while those of the third variety are come across in Eastern Punjab and the Delhi bazar.

Class III : The Gupta Types

Coins of Class III were modelled on the commonest Gupta gold issues with the devices of the Standing Archer King and the seated Goddess

Lakshmī. Although initially adopted from Kushāṇa originals, the devices were very soon freed from visible foreign features. The original obverse device of the 'Standing King sacrificing at altar' was simply Indianised as the 'Standing King holding bow and arrow', while the reverse 'Enthroned Goddess Ardoxsho with fillet and cornucopiae was suitably transformed into 'Lakshmī *seated on lotus* and holding a lotus'. Just as the Kushāṇa style devices persisted in more or less modified manner in Kashmir coinage in crude forms, the Gupta-type devices were imitated by some Bengal rulers of early medieval period in their gold issues, often with drastic modifications.

The obverse of the standard Gupta gold coins viz. the 'Standing Archer King' was adopted by Jayanāga (Jayagupta ?); Samāchāradeva and the Sudhanyāditya group of rulers, who depicted on the reverse of their coins the devices of 'Seated Lakshmī being anointed by elephants (Seated Guja-Lakshmī) 'Seated Lakshmī' and 'Multi-armed standing Goddess wearing a long garland' respectively. The Archer king devices of Jayanāga and Samāchāradeva, however, had before the Standing King, their respective standards surmounted by a *Chakra* and a bull. Samāchāradeva on his second type of gold coins, with 'Goddess Sarasvatī (?) standing' on the reverse, used a new obverse device viz. 'Enthroned King with female attendants on either side' (Rājalīlā Type). Śaśāṅka and Virasena-Kramaditya also did away with the obverse device of the 'Standing Archer King'. Instead, Śaśāṅka used the device of 'Śiva reclining on recumbent Bull' on the obverse alongwith the motif of the 'Seated Gaja-Lakshmī' on the reverse, while Vīrasena Kramāditya depicted 'Standing Bull' on the obverse with the usual 'Seated Lakshmī' on the reverse.

Different series of Gupta-type silver coins of the 20-ratti Indian drachnī standard were also issued by rulers of various early medieval dynasties of Northern India. These coins, originally imitated from those of the Scythian satrapas of Western India, bear the King's Head with date on the obverse and one of the three miniature devices, viz. Fantailed Peacock, Trident or Bull on the reverse.

The peacock-type Gupta silver coins were closely copied by Iśānavarman, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman of the Maukhari dynasty, as well as by Pratāpaślīa (Prabhākaravardhana ?) and Śīlāditya (Harshavardhana ?) of the Pushyabhuti (?) family, and two other obscure rulers, Harikānta and Bhīmasena (?).

The Trident type of Kumāragupta, represented by a single known specimen, was apparently copied by the Valabhi chiefs who issued extensive silver coins with the 'king's head on the obverse and a 'Trident, along-with a fragmentary legend which seems to include *Bhaṭṭārakasa*, on the reverse.

The Bull-type coins of Skandagupta was imitated by one Krishṇarāja, probably of the Rashtrakuta stock, who issued a large number of silver coins with the 'King's head' on the obverse and 'Bull' on the reverse.

There are some rare early medieval copper coins of some obscure rulers with gupta-ending names which were evidently copied from well-known Gupta originals. The copper coins of Harigupta, for the instance, show the Gupta devices of 'Standing King with an attendant holding *Chhatra* over his head' on the obverse, and the figure of 'Garuḍa' or 'Kalaśa on the reverse.

Class IV ; The Seated Goddess Type

Class IV consists of large thin gold coins with the figure of a 'Four-armed Goddess (Lakshmī) seated crosslegged to front' on the obverse and 'legend' in large bold characters on the reverse. This obverse device was evidently evolved from that of the 'Two-armed Seated Lakshmī', as seen on Gupta gold issues. It was introduced with modifications by the Kalachuri (or Western Chedi) king Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripuri, and became popular enough to form the pattern mainly for the gold issues of the Central Indian and some northern dynasties, like the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti (Mahoba), the Tomaras of Delhi, to Chahamanas of Sakambhari and the Gahadavalas of Kanauj. These coins, though initially of gold almost uniformly follow the standard of a *dramma* of Attric drachm of 67.2 grains. Thus, the coins of Class IV simultaneously betrary the Gupta influence in their device and the Sassanian influence in their weight system It may, however, be noted that these 'Seated Goddess' coins are known not only in gold but also in various degree of debased gold, silver, debased silver and copper. The Gāṅgeyadeva coins, in particular which were struck in various metals in different degrees of debasement, appear to have been isssued over a very long period, probably even after the death of Gāṅgeyadeva himself.

Class V : The Bull and Horseman Type

Coins of Class V which are both of silver and copper, usually bear the characteristic devices of the 'Seated Bull' on the obverse and the 'Mounted Horseman' on the reverse. They are extremely common in Afghanistan and throughout Northern India. The Brahmana Shahis (Devas) of Ohind evidently introduced the coins of this type; but no coins are known of their successers, the Rajput Shahis (Palas), although rulers of other Rajput dynasties of Northern India, like the Tomars of Delhi (Bayana), the Chahamanas of Sakambhari, Jalor and Nadel, and the Gahadavalas of Kanauj, widely copied the type for a long time.

The original Bull and Horseman coins of the Shahis of Ohind bear two names of military designation, viz. Spalapatideva and Sāmantadeva. Their coins are profuse in number and are widely different in style and fabric, and this fact leads one to suppose that they were issued over a very long period.

Curiously enough, rulers of the Rajput dynasties, who somewhat slavishly copied the 'Bull and Horseman' type, retained for some unknown reason the name of the original issuer 'Samantadeva' above the Bull device and wrote their respective names besides the Horseman on the other side. The obverse legend on the coins of the Chahamanas of Sakambhari is somewhat novel, for it reads : *Sāvāri Śri Sāmantadeva.*

The type of the 'Bull and horseman' was adopted and used for the coinage of the Muhammadan rulers of Ghazni till the time of Balban (1265 A. D.) and for the currency of the petty *rajas* of Kangra upto Jahangir's time (1620 A. D.). The type was in continuous use for a period of some 750 years and in point of duration stands next to the 1200-year old 'Standing King and Seated Goddess' type of the Kashmir coinage.

When, however, we take up the devices of the 'Bull' and the 'Horseman' separately and try to trace their respective origins, we are led to the ancient past. The Bull device was initially adopted by the issuers of India's most ancient coins, viz. the punch-marked series and was continued throughout the succeeding ages in various coinages. It was a favourite type for ancient localitities like Pushkalavati, Kauśāmbi and Ayodhya.

The Horseman motif was used by the Greek rulers of Bactria and India and became the characteristic obverse device of the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian silver and billion currencies. Some of the Gupta monarchs like Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I also used the Horseman type but its depiction was far more artistic and lively. The Horseman also appears on the obverse of some Ephthalite coins.

On the obverse of copper coins of two other different series of this period we have the figure of a crude Horseman. The reverse of one of them has the legend *Sri Somaladevi*, indentified with the Chahamana queen Somalekha, while that of the other has the figure of man lying prostrate and the legend *Sri Trivi-*, probably standing for Trivikrama, and referring to the *Vāmana Avatāra* of Vishṇu.

Miscellaneous Types

Besides the five main classes just described, there were some other miscellaneous types, distantly connected with the main types:

Of the central Indian dynasties, the Kalachuris (or Eastern Chedis) of Ratanpur adopted a different and characteristic type for their normal gold and some copper issues. The obverse of these coins shows a 'Lion attacking an Elephant', while the reverse has legends in large bold characters like those of the Gāṅgeyadeva issues The curious device might have been inspired by the Gupta gold issues of the Elephant-rider-Lion-slayer type.

The Kalachuries of Ratanpur and the Chandellas of Mahoba used a common type for some of their copper coins showing the figure of a 'Two or Four-armed Hanumān' on the obverse and legend in bold characters on the reverse. But it is difficult to say which dynasty introduced the type and which other dynasty borrowed it.

Another stray type of coins of this period shows the interesting reverse device of the 'Cow suckling the Calf'. Thisde vice is seen on the gold issues of the Surasena chiefs, Vatsadāman and Vappuka and of one Keśava of unknown origin. The obverse of Vatsādaman's coins has the seemingly Vaishṇava device of 'Varāha trampling a deman', which might have inspired the somewhat similar device on the 'Ādi-Varāha' coins. The obverse devices of the coins of Vappuka and Keśava have, on the other hand, a Śaivite bearing.

While the former depict 'Bull seated before *Śivaliṅga* with a prostrate human being beneath' the latter exhibit 'Recumbent King in high-peaked cap worshipping *Śivaliṅga* with folded hands'.

PROBLEMS

The above typological survey shows that the study of early medieval coins of Northern India raises a number of problems, foremost of which relate to 'identify of issuers' and 'absence of coins of great rulers of dynasties'. Besides, critical and technical studies of these extensive issues involve a number of complexities regarding metrological diversities, economic implications, religious affiliations, iconographic and artistic features in general.

The attribution of the extensive Sassanian-type silver coins to known kings or dynasties, except the Ādi-Varāha pieces, is virtually impossible. Then, the identification of quite a few royal names that occur on coins themselves is problematical. We are yet to be sure to which particular Vigrahapala (and of which dynasty) the large number of the *Vigrahapala drammas* are to be attributed. Again, we know next to nothing about many issuers whose names find their place on coins of the period, Thus identifications of Sudhanyāditya and Prithuviryya of the obscure gold coins of Eastern Bengal,of Bhimasena, Harikanta and Krishnaraja of the 20-rati silver pieces of the Gupta type, as well as of Sāmantdeva and Spalapatideva of the 'Bull and Horseman' silver *kārshāpaṅas* of the north-Western region are still doubtful.

As we see, it is not only difficult to arrange known series of coins dynasty-wise, but it is also an enigma as to why no monetary issues are known of some renowned kings like Yasodharman of Malwa, or of well-established dynasties like the Palas and Senas of Bengal.

The solitary gold specimen of the Archer type, whose very attribution to Devapala of Bengal is itself doubtful, is no proof that the imperial Palas had any regular currency system.

METROLOGICAL DIVERSITIES

Metrology of the early medieval coins of Northern India is a highly difficult subject. For, it involves coins of various metals and weight-systems, and poses a complex problem. While gold, silver, copper and some mixed metals were used for coining perposes, the weight-system of any particular metal did not follow the definite Indian standard which was traditionally associated with that metal. Irrespective of the metal, the weight-standard of a specific series of coins usually dependent on that of the prototype on which it was modelled. As we see, there were at least five different weight standards for the early medieval gold and silver coins of Northern India; and, interestingly enough, some of these weight-standards were also sometimes used for copper issues of the period.

Coins modelled on the Kushāṇa prototypes followed the Roman *Dinarius aureus* standard of the theoretical weight of 122.9 grains as adopted by the Kushāṇas. They were not only of gold but also of silver and copper, and were commonly known as *dinaras*. This weight-standard was mainly followed in the Kashmir coinage, which was derived from Kushāṇa original.

Coins of most of the dynasties of Northern and Central India followed the standard of Attic Drachm of the theoretical weight of 67.2 grains. It would be highly interesting to find out how this Greek standard, never used by the Greek rulers themselves in India proper, came to be widely adopted in various regions in Northern India, so long after the disappearance of the Greeks from the Indian soil. In fact, the Attic weight-system was introduced into the interior of India through the Hunas who adopted it from the Sassanians of Parthia. Thus various types of North Indian coins modelled on Sassanian originals are known to follow this alien weight standard, generally known as *dramma*, i. e. drachm. The Sassanian type *dramma* coins were, however, not only of silver but also copper as well. And it is interesting to note that the characteristic gold coins of Gengeyadeva and various other Central Indian issues modelled on them also followed this Attic weight-system, even though they were not of Sassanian type. The Gangayadeva-type 'Seated Goddess' coins were of various denominations—full, half, quarter and one-eighth *dramma*.

The indigenous *suvarṇa* standard of 80 rattis or 144 grains, which was used by later imperial Guptas since the time of Skandagupta, was adopted for the debased gold coins of Sasanka and some other rulers of the Bengal region.

A different weight-standard conforming roughly to 50 *ratti* or 90 grains was used for the gold coins of the Sakta (?) rulers of Eastern Bengal as well as for a type of Sasanaka's gold issues. Some gold pieces of a *Kramaditya* with the doubtful personal name of Virasena are of an abnormally heavy weight of 162.4 grains and appear to have conformed to the 100-ratti (180-grain) weight-system. If so, these coins were 'double' the weight of the gold issues of the Sakta rulers just mentioned.

The traditional silver *karshapana* standard of 32 rattis of 57.6 grains was used for some of the Bull-and-Horseman Shahi coins of Ohind.

Another silver weight-standard introduced and widely popularised by the foreign rulers of Northern India during this period was that of the Indian Drachm of 20 rattis or 36 grains. It was also adopted by the Satavahanas and the Guptas from the Western Satraps. During the early medieval period, the Hunas, the Maukharis, the Pushyabhutis and the Maitrakas of Valabhi used this 20-ratti weight-system for their Gupta type silver issues, One Krishnaraja probably of the Rashtrakuta stock, as well as the obscure rulers Bhimasena and Harikanta also struck coins of this standard. Incidentally, the weight of the silver issues was one-fourth of the 80-ratti Kautilyan (silver) *Dhrana* of the traditional (gold) *Suvarna*.

We, thus, see that gold coins of this period followed at least four weight-systems, viz. 132-grain *Dinara*, 67-grain *Dramma*, 144-grain (80-ratti) *Suvarna* and 180-grain (*sata-ratti*) *Satamana*.

Similarly, at learst four different standards were used for the silver issues of this period, and they are 123-grain *Dinara*, 67-grain *Dramma*, 57-grain (32-rati) *Karshapana* and 36-grain (20-ratti) Indian Drachm.

Copper issues of the period followed the 123-grain *Dinara* and 67-grain *Dramma* standards, besides other unascertainable ones.

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

The coinage of a period reflects contemporary economic condition. Early medieval coins of Northern India also have great economic implications.

Gold coins, wherever manufactured during this period, were very limited in number; for they were evidently meant for rare and very big business transactions and for hoarding as treasures by the richer section of the community. Silver coins were minted and used for comparatively important local or universal business deals, while copper issues were almost everywhere used for day-to-day petty private transactions.

As we see, the preceeding Gupta gold currency in Northern India was replaced by abundant silver coinage in early medieval period. The comparatively little gold issues that still persisted were restricted to Kashmir, Central India and Bengal. But the gold coins of this period, specially those of Kashmir rulers and of Gangeyadeva, suffered gradual debasement, so much so that they became ultimately indistinguishable from copper ones. It is, however, interesting to note that silver currency persisted all along even during the Gupta period in certain areas of Western and Central India and continued to be issued in the early medieval period as well.

All these facts raise several questions : What were the main sources of gold and silver ? Why gold currency was repleced during the period by silver coinages in Northern India ? What led to the survival of gold coins in some particular regions ? How is it that silver coins continued to be issued uninterrupted in certain areas ? Does the comparative debasement of the gold and silver currencies during this period signify a general economic depression ? What was the relative price-ratio of gold, silver and copper ? And is there any means to determine the respedtive purchasing powers of the coins of the coins of the three metals ?

The problems arising from these questions are not easy to solve at the present state of our knowledge. Although ancient India was supposed to be fabulously rich in gold, all this gold did not necessarily come from indigenous sources. Apparently, bulk of the gold meant for a regular currency came from outside by way of foreign trade. So, abundance and relatively restricted mintage of, and debasement in gold currencies depended mainly on the actual state of trade relation with the sources of gold-supply. Whenever foreign trade with gold-producting countries flourished, there was an extensive mintage of gold currency, as in the preceding Kushana and Gupta periods. But evidently such foreign trade dwindled in early medieval period, and that fact was duly reflected in the comparative scarcity, restricted regional distribution and poor state of the few known series of gold issues.

The fact that the use of gold coins, in different degrees of debasement survived in Kashmir, Bengal and Central India may imply that these regions had access to some limited supply of gold. Kashmir and Bengal might have had trrde relations with the gold-producing countries like China and Tibet, while issuers of gold coins of Central India might have procured the yellow metal from the gold mines of the south.

Almost the same thing applied to the sources of silver. Apparently, the bulk of the silver for minting of coins used to come by way of foreign trade or by direct import. The reappearance of silver currency as the standard medium of exchange in Northern India during the early medieval period may indicate the development of foreign trade with the silver-producing countries beyound the north-western frontiers of India. The persistence of silver currency since the time of the Western Satraps in territories once under their sway was, on the other hand, evidently due to the steady inflow of silver by way of regular sea-borne trade through the port-towns of the western sea board.

The international and internal prices of the various coining metals, viz. gold, silver and copper, were certainly not in a stabilised and static state all throughout the early medieval period, which covered some six hundred years. And the authorities that issued coins in different regions and in different localities were not always in the same good financial position. Thus, the fluctuating prices of the two high-valued metals, viz. gold and silver, and the different financial positions of the issuers are well reflected by the various degrees of the purity of extant early medieval gold and silver coins. These factors must have decided the respective purchasing powers of the concerned numismatic issues.

Religious Affiliations

Early medieval coins of Northern India throw some light on the religious trend of the period. Devices characteristic of the religious cults which had considerable hold on the contemporary society were duly depicted on coins of various series. The most prominent of the cults which has their cognisance on coins of the period appear to be Śaivism and Vaishṇavism.

Śaivism seems to have had a special appeal to foreign rulers since the time of the Kushāṇas. Originally the Kushāṇas used the composite device of the 'Trident-bearing Śiva standing before his Bull', or 'Śiva alone standing and holding the trident' or only the symbolic 'Trident' on many of the coins. The first composite device was systematically adopted as the motif for the extensive Kushano-Sassanian gold and imitation Kushāṇa copper issues during the early medieval period. 'Śiva seated on his bull' was the device of some debased gold coins of king Sasanka of Gauda, who was apparently a Śaiva by faith.

The cult of Śiva is also represented by *Śivalinga* on some rare gold coins of the Surasena chief Vappuka and of one Kesava of unknown origin. Both these rulers used the common device of the 'Cow suckling a calf' on the reverse. Vappuka's coins exhibit on the obverse 'Bull seated before *Śivalinga* with a prostrate human being beneath', who might well be the king himself. The allied device on the obverse of Kesava's coins shows 'Recumbent king with a high-peaked cap worshipping *Śivalinga* with folded hands. Evidently both Vappuka and Kesava had a Śaivite leaning.

The 'Bull' or Nandi, the well-known *vāhana* ('i. e. the saered mount) of Śiva is no doubt associated with Śaivism, and the Bull-standard on the gold coins of Samacharadeva of Eastern Bengal certainly indicates his Śaivite affinity. But the Bull was such a common motif for coins ever since the ancient times that its appearance alone may not always have any exclusive bearing on Śaivism itself.

Vaishṇavism was another popular cult which appears to have had a great influence on North Indian rulers since the days of the imperial Guptas. That the *Vaishṇava Avatāravāda* had its impact on the Vaishṇava rulers of the time is clear from the device of the Boar Incarnation of Vishṇu as seen on the coins of Ādi-Vāraha of Bhoja I and Vatsadaman. Again the legend *Śrī-Tri-vi* above a prostrate man on the reverse of some Horsemantype anonymous copper issues, if taken to stand for *Śrī-Trivikrama*, would refer to the *vāmana-avatāra* of Vishṇu.

The 'Chakra-standard' on certain gold coins of Jayanaga (Jayagupta) of Bengal, like that on the gold issues of Kacha of the imperial Gupa line, evidently points to Vaishṇavite leaning on the part of the issuer.

The device of the 'Seated Goddess with lotus', aptly identified with Lakshmi, the consort of Nārāyaṇa or Vishṇu, had apparently a Vaishṇavite significance, as in the case of the same device on the coins of the preceding

Gupta emperors who are known to have been great devotees of Vishṇu. The depiction of this device on the Gangeyadeva series of coins of Central India as well as on some Gupta-type coins of Bengal might also have indicated Vishṇavite affiliation on the part of their issuers. But it is doubtful if this device, as used on coins of different parts of India by various rulers of the early medieval period extending over some six centuries, was always inspired by the same Vaishṇavite leaning. For, as we see, the 'seated goddess' motif, in a highly stereotyped form, remained in continuous use in the long series of Kashmir coinage. It is possible that in Kashmir as well as in a few other areas this device was continued mechanically and without attaching any Vaishṇavite significance to it, exactly as it was done on certain gold issues of the Delhi Sultan Muhammad bin Sam.

Moreover, in some cases the Seated Goddess motif appears to have been used because of its universal popularity in this period. Sasanka, who depicted Śiva as seated on his Bull on the obverse of some of his debased gold coins and was most probably a Śaivite by faith, simultaneously also exhibited the composite device of the 'Seated Gaja-Lakshmī' on the reverse.

The emergence of the Śakti cult in Eastern Bengal during this period is well illustrated by the interesting device of the multi-armed Standing Goddess wearing a long dotted garland, and appearing on the gold coins of the Sudhanyaditya group of rulers. If the garland is to be identified as *mundamalā* ('garland of skulls'), as suggested by N. K. Bhattasali, the goddess concerned may represent an aspect of Kālī.

The identity of the Goddess who is depicted as 'Standing with a bird beside her' on the reverse of the so-called 'Rajalila' type of Samacharadeva's gold coins is not clear. If the bird is a *haṁsa*, as held by N. K. Bhattasali, we have to see in her an early representation of the Goddess Sarasvati.

It is not known if some of the minor devices like the figure of Hanuman on the copper issues of the period had any religious or cult significance.

Iconographic Features

The early medieval coins are not completely void of iconographic importance. The representation of the different cult divinities on these coins might be of interest to students of iconography.

The depiction of the 'Goddess' on all the series of coins is not the same, and the deity may not always stand for Lakshmi. In order to identify the goddess properly it is necessary to study the details of her representation, viz. the number of her arms, objects in her hands, her seat or mount (vāhana), as well as other accessory figures. But since the minutes details are very rarely visible on coins due to poor workmanship, we cannot be sure of the identification of the goddess in a number of cases.

The female divinity who is represented on the highly artistic Gupta issues as 'seated on a lotus, holding a lotus and a noose in her two hands' is undoubtedly to be identified as Lakshmi. The device was adopted almost in the same way on some Bengal coins and is also seen in a cruder form on the Kashmir coinage, were the 'Seated goddess (Lakshmi)' is by and by shorn of her two arms, which are replaced by parts of the legend. On the Gangeyadeva type of coins also the goddess (Lakshmi) is seen seated, probably on a lotus, with the difference that she is endowed with four arms, although the objects in her hands, if any are not visible due to crude and indifferent execution.

Lakshmi is also seen on the coins of Jayanaga and Sasanka of Bengal as 'seated' but there she is shown as being anointed by two miniature elephants from two sides. This composit 'Gaja-Lakshmi' device was a favourite sculptural motif since the ancient times and is easily recognisable.

Then, the female deity on some coins of Pravarasena of Kashmir is depicted as 'seated on a Lion', instead of a lotus, and may be compared with the similar figure on the Gupta issues of the Chandragupta-Kumaradevi type. In both the cases, the devinity is to be taken not as Lakshmi but as Durga or Ambika, because of the conspicuous Lion as her mount.

Again, the depiction of the Goddess on the 'Rajalila' type of Samacharadeva's coins is somewhat novel in that she is seen 'standing with a lotus in hand and a bird beside her'. She may be identified with Sarasvati, only if the bird is duly recognised as *hamsa*, the well-known *vāhana* of Sarasvati, as suggested by N. K. Bhattasali.

Lastly, the Goddess on the coins of the Sudhanvaditya group of rulers of Eastern Bengal is exhibited as 'standing and wearing a long garland, consisted of what look like dots'. If this garland is really meant for a *muṇḍamāla* ('garland of skulls'), as held by Bhattasali, then only she can be taken as a representation of Kālī.

In like manner, the features of Vishṇu's 'Boar Incarnation', as seen on coins of the 'Varaha' type, and those of Siva with his Bull may be of some interest to students of Hindu iconography.

Artistic Merits

The numerous coins of the early medieval period may hardly be regarded as specimens of art. In fact, compared to the preceding Gupta issues, which may well compete with the Greek coinage in point of artistic excellence, coins of this period lapsed into hopeless degradation.

In the Kashmir coinage both the devices of the 'Standing King' and the 'Seated Goddess' tended to be cruder and cruder in course of time till they were represented by mere outlines. The two arms of the Goddess were curiously replaced by parts of the legend, and the devices were depicted in the most inartistic manner, reminiscent of the barbarous imitations of the coins of Euthydemus and Hermaeus.

The 'Seated Goddess' coins of the Gangeyadeva type of Central India likewise suffered gradual deterioration in execution, till the goddess was represented by some circles and dots. Similarly, the device of the 'Sassanian Head' and 'Fire-altar' on the Sassanian-type silver *drammas* of the Rajasthan area degenerated into the crude and thick dumpy Gadhiya Paisas.

In fact, deterioration in workmanship went hand in hand with debasement of the coining metal, as it is evident from extant specimens. There were also cther factors contributing to the degenration of the numismatic art. Not only the artistic but also the technical side of coin-making was highly neglected. There was in fact a callous lack of patronage for skilled die-cutters on the part of the issuers of coins. This appears to be strange indeed, if we look at other types of contemporary plastic art. When Kashmir and Bengal produced noteworthy sculptures in stone, their coins were shorn of all artistic merits.

Any way, these and various other aspects of the extensive series of early medieval coinages may be studied in much greater details. And when we do so, we would find it difficult to uphold that "with the downfall of the Guptas the numismatic evidence ceases to be an important source of history."

For, even though the issues of the post-Gupta period may not always throw much light on political history, we may point out that it is from the coins alone that kings like Samacharadeva, Sudhanvaditya, Prithuviryya and others are known to have ruled in Bengal during the per-Pala period. Moreover, the early medieval coins are quite likely to gives us a glimpse into the economic and cultural conditions of the contemporary society. Thus, an exhaustive, critical and comparative study of these otherwise neglected series of coins is expected to afford us supplementary information of historical value.

Thank you, Ladies and Gentleman, for the very kind and patient hearing you have given me.

NUMISMATIC DATA IN PRĀKRIT KATHĀ LITERATURE

J. YADAV

Attempts have been made by some scholars to glean and study the data relating to coins contained in early Indian literature. The numismatic material contained in the Jain literature, however, has not received adequate attention from scholars. Here we propose to take up some Prākrit Kathā texts of early medieval times which shed welcome light on social, religious and economic conditions of early medieval India. The *Samarāichchakahā* refers to *artha* as an aim of life. *Artha* and *Kāma* are the basis of worldly life. In the absence of wealth (*Artha*) one cannot achieve *Dharma* and *Kāma* and without these three one cannot reach his ultimate goal, i. e., solvation (*moksha*).[1] The *Samarāichchakahā* mentions that a man is not really a man if he has no wealth, because a poor man can never get fame nor a good company.[2] In this connection there is a passage which says that wealth (*Artha*) is goal of life and it gives light of honour, family, mind etc.[3] These texts refer to treasury as an important part of a state. The *Nītivākyāmṛitam* remarks that treasury is an integaral part of a state. It was accepted as the life of the kings.[4] The king, whose treasury is empty, robs his subjects and then the kingdom.[5] In line with the passages refering to the importance of treasury or wealth, we find some coins mentioned in the *Samarāichchakahā*, *Kuvalayamālā Kahā*, *Jñān Pañchamī Kahā* etc. Treasury was defined to be a repository of coins. These Prākrit texts use some numismatic terms e. g., *Dīnāra*, *Suvarṇa*, *Rūpaka*, *Karsha* and *Kārshāpaṇa*. The *Samarāichchakahā* refers to Dīnāras at many places.[6] Here we find that the Dīnāras are mentioned in figures.[1] The term *Dīnāra* is borrowed from Greek *Denarius*.[2] In early medieval India *Dinara* was a gold coin. A gold coin was equal to 16 silver Rūpakas in the Gupta age.[3] *Niśītha Churṇī* refers to Dīnāra as a gold coin generally used in eastern parts of India.[4] There were Dīnāras of gold, silver and copper metals as mentioned in the *Rājataranginī*.[5] These literary sources make it clear that *Dīnāra* was made of gold, silver and copper in early mediaeval times.

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[1] *Sama. Kahā*, 9. p. 865-66.

[2] *Ibid.*, 4, p. 246 'Attha Rahio puriso apuriso cheva.

[3] *Ibid.*, 6, p. 538-39 'Annam chaesha attho nama mahantam Devayā-Rūpam. See *Ādi Purāṇa*, 41. 158; cf. *Mahābhārata* 12/8/6-33; 12/167/12-14 here Arjuna says that poverty is a sin and no religious or social performance can be done without wealth.

[4] *Nītivākyāmritam*, p. 203 Koso hi bhūpatīnam jīvitaṁ na prāṇā.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

[6] *Sam. Kahā*, 2, p. 114; 3, p. 171, 4, p. 267, 6, p. 509, 8, p. 746, cf. *Nammayā Sundarī Kahā*, p. 3.

The *Samarāichchakahā* and *Kuvalayamālā Kahā* refer to the use of gold (*Suvaṇṇa*) coins mentioning exact numbers.[6] Suvarṇa was generally used as a coin in the Kushāṇa and Gupta period, and was continued in post-Gupta period as well.[7] The Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva and the Chandella king Kīrttivarman struck gold coins.[8] Again, we see that Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur, such as, Pṛithvīdeva, Jājjaldeva and Ratandeva III used gold in their numismatic issues.[9]

Karsha or Kārshāpaṇa was also used as a coin in early medieval times. Endorsing the ancient tradition, the *Kuvalayamālā Kahā* refers to *Karsha* as weight.[10] It was the name of a weight equal to 80 *rattis* and sometimes it was regarded as one hundred to hundred-twenty (100–120) *rattis* in weight.[11] In the *Manusmṛiti* a copper Kārshapṇa weighing one Karsha is used as a Paṇa.[12] The Bijapur jain inscription of Rāshtrakūṭa Dhaval of Hathundi refers to Karsha as a coin.[13] The *Vasudeva Hindi* mentions two

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1. *Op. cit.*, 2, p. 114, 8, p. 746.
2. Lallanji Gopal, *Economic life of Northern India*, p. 209.
3. D. C. Sircar, *Epigraphical Glossary, S. V., Dīnāra*.
4. *Niśītha Churṇī*; 3, p. 111.
5. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, 87/950.
6. *Sam. Kahā* 4, p. 241--Khodasa Suvaṇṇa'; *Kuvalayamālā Kahā*–12/11; 57/32—Suvaṇṇa sahassa smollāim rayaṇāima pañch pañch-geṇhimo.'
7. *JNSI*, XVII, p. 111.
8. *Indian Antiquary*, XXXVII, p. 148.
9. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 26, No. 35 (1930):
10. *Kuvalayamālā Kahā* 153/16--'Bhārasayam Aha Kodi Lakkham chiya......Karisam Masam cha Rattīm cha.'
11. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 149.
12. *Manu*, 8/136—'Kārśāpaṇastu Vijñyeyastāmrikāḥ Kāśikaḥ Paṇah.'
13. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIV, p. 182.

type of coins as a means of exchange; *Paṇa* and *Kārshāpaṇa*.[1] Probably the term *karsha* was used in both the senses as a weight and also as a coin in 8th and 9th century A. D. The *karshas* are referred to in several inscriptions of early medieval times.[2]

Like Dīnāra, Suvarṇa and Karsha, the term *Rūpaka* (Ruvaka) is also used in the *Kuvalaya Mālā Kahā*.[3] The *Upamitibhavaprapañchā Kahā* also mentions *Rūpaka* as a coin for common use.[4] - Besides these literary references Rūpakas are mentioned in many inscriptions of Rajasthan in the 9th and 10th century A. D.[5] According to some scholars the term *Rūpaka* was used as *Rūpa* (symbol) on Kārshāpaṇa and other coins.[6] V. S. Agrawal suggests that in post-Vedic age the tendency of putting of symbol (*rūpa*) on gold coins was started with the tradition of symbolic (*rūpa*) coin, the term *Rūpaka* was used for the broken gold and silver coins.[7] Pāṇini and Kauṭilya appear to have used the term *Rūpa* to signify a coin.[8] *Rūpaka* became a common designation for a coin in later times. The term *Rūpaka* was changed in to Rupaya in Muslim period, from which we have Rupee of the English usage. Perhaps *rūpaka* was equal to one-fourth of a Dramma. A. S. Altekar also interprets *Rūpa* as a variety of Dramma.[9]

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1. *Vasudeva Hindi*, p. 15, 257, 268.
2. Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 317.
3. *Kuvalayamālā Kahā* 20/26—'Āittham Raiṇā Samvachachharassa Satta Sahassam Rūvayāṇam.'
4. *Upamitibhavaprapañchā Kathā*, p. 553.
5. Dasharath Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
6. *JNSI*, XII, p. 193.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
8. T. P. Varma, 'Rupa and Rupākriti, *JNSI*, XXXV, p. 161.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF ECONOMIC PLANTS AS VISUALISED IN INDIAN NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

A. N. SINGH

The vital role and intimate relation of the plant-kingdom to the animal kingdom is recognised since the very dawn of the latter's creation, which is sustained through all the phases of historical ages. This bearing in relation to the human beings is all the more, where plant species have not only attracted the sensitive human herats to their natural beauty, aesthetic values, behavioural peculiarities etc., but also for their staple potentialities in contributing to the structural development of the socio-economico-cultural conditions of the human societies. In acknowledgement of the services of the plants, man has also reacted and expressed his feelings of regard by various means and devices and in various ways, which seems to have existed from even the pre-historic times. The archaeological findings bear testimony to this, where plant pictographs have been identified in fresco painting, early coins and coin patterns, and seals, sealings, amulets etc. Not only this, but the regard far tree had gained even much importance in religion also, so much so that a religious cult known as 'tree-cult' emerged which was characterised by tree worship flourishing since very early times. Tree-worship was perhaps a characteristic of pre-Aryan culture though it continued in Aryanised India and notices of tree-veneration are evinced.

In this connection, it is worth-mentioning that these pictographs of trees in the frescoes, seals, sealings and amulets as well as in coinage are interesting and helpful not only in the ancient socio-economic and cultural studies, but have an equally significant bearing on the botanical studies of the plants in the knowledge of their antecedental ethnic relations, habitat, subsequent migrational introduction, distribution and naturalisation to other lands, economic values, etc. But this type of study has not been so far duely attended to by the scholars, though some sporadic and casual attempts have no doubt been made. Some attempt has been made by the author to expose and expound such elements in the course of his Ph. D. work on a 'Critical Study of the Flora of the Kauṭilīya *Arthaśāstra*.' I would quote one or two such instances to illustrate my approach.

In the archaeological excavations in Crete the Saffron picker and the flowers which served the raw material for the (dyeing) industry has been found represented as a fresco on a series of tablets.[1] This finding is an evidence of great significance in the establishment and confirmation of many a botanical fact relating to the plant. Similarly, in the archaeological excavations carried out at Mohenjodaro and other ancient centres of Indus Valley Civilization the *nīm* tree and another which resembles acacia have been found on various amulets.[2] Prof. R. S. Singh has identified this plant with the Sponge tree : *Prosopis spicigera* L. (Family : Leguminoseae) ; the famous Śamī tree of the Vedic literature and tradition. The Śamī tree is still venerated and worshipped. It is held as a religious tree in the Hindu religion and is very popular not only in the modern regions of the ancient Aryandom but also in the regions of Sir Grierson's Peripheral Linguistic Areas. This finding is very valuable as it provides a convincing answer to the question whether Śamī was known to and recognised by the pre-Aryan population of ancient north-western India. The answer has remained obscure so far. The identification of the 'acacia like tree' with Śamī is further supported by the evidence that the Kandi tree (local name of Śamī in Sind, Bahwalpur; Baluchistan etc.) was considered sacred also by other non-Aryan tribes inhabiting the Seistan region,[3] which seems to be the remnant of the ancient tradition.

Now, I would converge on the elucidation of similar reflection emerged from the plant-pictograph on the indigenous coinage, confroming myself at present to the '*udumbara*' Indian Fig tree[4] on the trible coins of the Audumbaras, who were located in the territory lying between the upper Sutlej and the Ravi, probably in the period from the 2nd century B. C. to the lst century A. D.[5]

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[1] *The Aegean Civilization*, Chapter III/p. 177.

[2] Ernest Mackay, *Early Indus Civilization*, Chapter III/Religion–Religious Trees/p. 59.

[3] "There is a Kandi tree in the Shahri which is considered sacred and not cut by the Wanéchi (*J. A. S. B.* (*NS*)/Notes on the Vegetation of Seistan).

[4] Ficus glomerata Roxb. (Syn. F. racemosa Linn.). (Fumily : Moraceae) ; The Gular Fig, or country Fig.

[5] Chatopadhyāya, Bhaskar : '*A Study of Myths and Symbols in Indian Numismatic Art* : Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1977; p. 259, Puri, B. N., *India in the Time of Patañjali*, Bombay, 1957. p. 88.

The *Udumbara* tree was sacred to the Audumbaras.[1] This leads to the inference that the tree was plentifully available in the domains of this tribe and was most probably of great economic values to it. Secondly, this affinity of the *udumbara* tree with the Audumbaras also indicates the basis of this nomenclature of the plant, which is not inteligible and explicable otherwise.

The inference that the Audumbarandom was the main habitat area of the *udumbara* tree is also supported by the comparatively large frequency of its mention in the *Charaka Saṁhitā* (which takes a wider notice of the medicinal flora of the then North-western Indian region in comparison to the *Suśruta Saṁhitā* and the compilation of Vāgbhaṭa (*Ashtānga Hṛidaya* and *Ashtānga Saṅgraha*).[2] Kauṭilīya's *Arthaśāstra* also informs us about many such uses of *udumbara* which were prevalent in the north-western regions.[3] The modern Indian flora and books on Indian medicinal and economic plants also indicate the sub-Himalayan tract from the Indus eastwards as the main distribution area of *udumbara*, where this tree is wild.

In this connection it is also worth mentioning that the Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati names also seem to have all been commonly derived from this very name *udumbara*,[4] which again supports our inference.

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[1] K. K. Das Gupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India.,* Calcutta 1974, pp. 42-44.. See also his *The Adumbaras.*

[2] Prof. R. S. Singh : *A critical Study on the Flora of Caraka Samhitā, Suśruta Samhitā, Ashtāṅga Sangraha and Ashtāṅga Hridaya Samhitā* (unpublished).

[3] *Kautīlya Arthaśāstra,* 14, 2. 178; 14,1, 177

[4] उदुम्बर⩾डूमर हि० डुमुर (बं०)
उदुम्बर>उंबर (म०)
उदुम्बर⩾उंबर⩾उंवरो (मु०)

NUMISMATIC DATA IN THE MĀDALĀPĀÑJI

(*The Jagannāth Temple Chronicle*)

SATYENDRA PATNAIK

Mādalā pāñji, the Jagannāth Temple Chronicle, has often been used for studying the dynastic history of medieval Orissa. In spite of the doubts raised by the scholars about its authenticity[1] it has remained an important source material for certain aspects of Orissan history. Scholars often differ in their views and sometimes dobut its reliability, but it is interesting to note that scholars reconstructing the political history of Orissa have used the references given in the *Mādalāpāñji*. The political and dynastic history of a country is different from its economic history. *Mādalāpāñji* may mislead historians but for the student of numismatics it is immensely helpful in informing about the currency system prevalent in Orissa during the time recorded in it.

The names of certain coin-types like Māḍha, Kāhāṇa, Cowry, Boḍi, Paṇa, Gaṇḍā, Kaḍā etc. are found in the *Mādalāpāñji*.[3] They are mentioned several times in the *Pāñji*. We would have been left with no other alternatives than to disbelieve these references, if we had not found references to these coins of varied type and metal in the inscriptions of medieval Orissa. The existence of such a varied type of coinage during the time of the Imperial Gaṅgas is proved by the mention of these coins like Nāḍa, Gaṇḍamāḍa, Malla Māḍas, Matsya Māḍa, Gaṅga Mādas, Chirugaṇḍa Mādas, Padmavidhi Gaṇḍamāḍas, Kuṭottuṅga Māḍas, Chinnams, Fanams, etc. in their inscriptions. Similarly Cowry, Kāhāṇa, Paṇa, Gaṇḍā, and Kaḍā, were used as the medium of exchange for centuries till Orissa came under the British.[5]

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1. *OHRJ*, Vol. 1 No. 2, 1952, p. 11.
2. While scholars differ in their opinions in determining the time of Mādalāpañji, they are unanimous that it was written in the late Medieval period and the facts recorded in it has certain historicity.
3. *Mādalāpāñji* (Prachi Publication) 1969, 4.
4. *JAHRS*, Vol-VII, Pt-2, 132.
3. *OHRJ*. Vol, No-2 1952, 10

Unfortunately we have not been able to determine the exact value of these coins. It is because we lack relevant information and not much serious thought has been given to the matter. In order to determine the value of these coins it is necessary to know the meaning of the terms in Oriya, used for each unit of coin, and then to co-relate it with other similar known coin-types.

According to Oriya Lexicon[1] following meanings are attributed to the names of the coin-types under discussion.

Māḍha[2]-"It is a small weight of Gold or any other metal. Standard weight : half a tolā, 'A large amount of money.'"[3]

Kāhāṇa[4]-"In Sanskrit it is Karshāpṇa, one Kāhāṇa is 1280 Kaḍā Cowry, 16 paṇas, 20 Gaṇḍās, and 80 Kaḍās.'"[5]

Paṇa[6]—"It is an unit equivalent to eighty."[7]

Gaṇḍā[8]—"It is an unit of money equivalent to four Cowries."[9]

Taṅkā[10]—"It is an unit of silver coin weighing one tolā."[11]

In the Oriya Lexicon the value of these coins and their fractions are given. But it is very difficult to know the exact value of these coins because of the scarcity of information. From the Lexicon the following facts are known which help us in determining the value of these coins and their fractions.

"1 *Kāhāṇa* =16 *Paṇas*,
1 *Paṇa* =20 *Gaṇḍās*,
1 *Gaṇḍā* = 4 *Kaḍās*"[12]

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[1] *Pūrṇachandra Oriya Bhāshākosha*, Vols, Cuttack.

[2] Māḍha is mentioned several times in the *Mādalāpāñji* (Prachi Publication Ed. A. B. Mohanthy) in 4, 29, 30, 31, 93 and 94 etc.

[3] *Pūrṇahandra Bhāshākosha* (Vol-*V*, 1936, Cuttack)p. 6440.

[4] *Mādalāpāñji*, pp-4, 9, 18, 32, 39, 44, 46, 52, 58, 62, 69, 71, 91, etc.

[5] *Pūrṇachandra Bhāshākosha*. (Vol-2) Cuttack-1932, pp. 1572-73.

[6] *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 58, 67.

[7] *Purṇachandra Bhāshākosa* Vol-IV. (1934, Cuttack) p. 4537.

[8] *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 4, 67.

[9] Promodo Abhidhan, p. 705.

[10] *Mādalāpāñji*, pp. 14, 15, 29, 79, 82, 83, etc.

[11] *Pūrṇachandra Bhāshākosha* Vol-*III* (Cuttack 1933) p. 3125.

[12] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2 (Cuttack 1932) pp. 1572-73.

1 *Kaḍā* = 1 Cowry,
5 *Gaṇḍās* = 1 *Boḍi*,
20 *Gaṇḍā* =16 *Paṇas*",[1]
"5 *Gaṇḍās* =20 *Kadā* Cowrise"[2]

Nothing is known about these coins of Orissa, some of which definitely had a wide circulation up till the late medieval period, while the *cowry* as medium of exchange survived as late as A. D. 1817.[3]

In the present state of our knowledge we cannot determine the exact value of a *Māḍha*. In the epigraphs of the Imperial Gaṅgas *Māḍha* coins of different denominations are mentioned.[4] We do not know whether these were gold coins or silver coins. But it may be assumed that the *Māḍha* coins were of many denominations of which those of the highest denomination were made of gold, while their fractions were of silver or copper. Though we are unable to say as to what exactly was the value of a Gold *Māda*, we find references to the purchasing value of a *Māḍha* in the Gaṅga epigraphs.[5] In the 63rd regnal year of Choḍagaṅgadeva, a lady made a gift of five *Māḍhas* to the temple of Nīleśvara or Nīlakaṇṭheśvara for burning a lamp in perpetuity. Elsewhere it is said that thirtyfive cows were given for burning one lamp. It is probable then that one gold *Māḍha* could fetch seven cows. Scholers[6] believe that "Coin *Māḍha* is the Telugu form of the Senskrit word Niṣka and Gaṇḍamāḍha is the Telugu form of Kārshāpaṇa."

It is said that *Kāhāṇa* is the Oriya form of Sanskrit *kārshāpaṇa*.[7] Numerous references to *kārshāpaṇa* coins are found in the early literature: Pāṇini mentions *kārshāpaṇa* and its submultiples.[8] Scholars[9], however, are of opinion that *kārshāpaṇa* was the name of the silver Punch-marked coin of which many hoards have been found in various part of India. It was the standard medium of exchange. *Kārshāpaṇa* is referred to as kahāpaṇa in the *Jātakas.*[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1202.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol.-4 (Cuttack 1934) p. 4537.
[3] Ms. Record of the Revenue Commissioner, Cuttack, Report of Mr. Trower to the Secy. to the Bd, of Revenue Dt. 23. 5. 1817.
[4] *JAHRS, Vol-VII* pt-2, p. 132.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 127.
[6] R. Subba Rao, *JAHRS*, Vol-*VIII* p. 42.
[7] *Pūrṇachandra Bhāshākosha*, Vol-2 (Cuttack 1932) p. 1572.
[8] *Ashṭādhyāyī—Adh-V Pada*-1, *Sūtra*—19-37.
[9] D. R. Bhandarkar "*Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatic*" p. 79.

It is to be noted that while the *Ashṭādhyāyī* uses both the names *kārshāpaṇa* and *paṇa* the *Arthaśāstra* refers to *paṇa.*[2] The application of the name *Paṇa* to coins of a metal other than copper is not restricted to the *Arthaśāstra* which speaks of the silver *Paṇa*.

Arthaśāstra[3] furnishes interesting information about the value of *paṇa*. If a goldsmith in the process of making coins, steals one māsha from the gold coin called *Suvarṇa* he is to be fined 200 (*Paṇas*), his fine will be 12 *paṇas* if he steals from a silver *Dharaṇa*. There the words *Suvarṇa* and *Dhraṇa* appear to be used in the specific sense of gold and silver respectively, but the standard coin is mentioned as *Paṇa*, although it is conspicuous by its absence in the discussion about the weight system for the metals.[4] Kauṭilya speaks of minting of silver coins named *pāṇa*, *Ardha paṇa*, *Pādā Paṇa* and *Aṣṭabhāga Paṇa* as well as copper coins called *Māsha*. *Ardha mashā pāda māshā*; etc. Scholars the generally believe that the name *paṇa* was used for a the copper coin.[5] The *paṇas* that find mention in the *Mādalāpāñji* seem to be different from those mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*. It is known from the Lexicon that *paṇa* is a unit equivalent to number eighty.[6] It is said that one *Kāhāṇa* is eqal to sixteen *paṇas*, one *paṇa* is equal to twenty *Gaṇḍās*.[7] Elsewhere it is stated that 20 *Gaṇḍās* are equivalent to sixteen *paṇas.*[8] It is thus obvious that there were two types of *paṇas*, one unit was equal to eighty, and twenty *Gaṇḍās* make one *paṇa*, the sixteen *Paṇas* of the other variety were equal to twenty *Gaṇḍās.*[9]

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1. *JNSI.*, Vol-XV Pt.—1 & 2, 1953 p. 33.
2. *Arthśāstra* (Samastry's translation, ch-78).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 113, Ch—40.
5. D. C. Sircar, *JNSI*, Vol-XIV p. 129.
6. *Pūrṇachandra Bhāshākosha*, Vol-4, (1934 Cuttack) Page–4537.
7. *Pūrṇachandra Bhāshākosha* Vol-2 (Cutteck 1982) pp. 1572-78.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 1202.
9. Ms. record in the Orissa state Archives. Monthly report of grain price in Cuttack dist. for Oct, 1816 submitted by the Collector to Board of Revenue.

Kadā, *Gaṇḍā* and *Boḍi* were some of the coins used in Orissa till it came under the British. From the official records[1] it is known that copper coins did not serve the requirements of the people of lower order whose daily transactions were mostly carried on in *Gaṇḍā* and *Kaḍā*. But, whether the value of these units were the same as the value of the *Gaṇḍā* and *Kadā* referred to in the *Madalāpāñji* is difficult to determine because we donot have any direct evidence to corelate the *Kadā* and *Gaṇdā* of *Mādalāpāñji* with those mentioned in the official records. In the official records the fractions such as *aṇṇa* are expressed in *Gaṇḍā* and *Kadā*.

Of these coins cowry was the most popular. The earliest reference to it is found in the copper plate grant of Śubhākara II[2] of the Bhaumakara dynasty of Orissa. In the Gaṅga epigraphas[3] and in the stone inscription of Purushottamadeva of the Gajapati dynasty[4] we find references to cowry as the medium of exchange. During Mughal,[5] Marāṭhā and early British rule[6] in Orissa, cowry was used as a medium of exchange. As late as 17th century cowry was the only coin known to the village folks of Orissa.[7] In the Mughal period cowry in the coastal region sold at eighty per pice that is *kāhāṇa* 8 *Paṇas*.[8] Cowry's rate of exchange with rupee fluctuated from time to time.[9]

It is, however, interesting to note that though *Mādalāpāñji* furnishes us with information about different coin-types prevalent in medieval Orissa, it is silent about these units of coins being legal tenders and about the places where the gold, silver and copper coins were minted.

It may be objected that the literary evidence refers to the existence of of greater number of coin denominations than were perhaps actually minted. It may be admitted that the literary evidence at our disposal warrants such liberal interpretation.

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[1] B. Mishra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 15, Line—2324.

[2] Mohanthy. *Gadya Padyādarśa*, p. 48 (Ins, of the time of Narasimha Deva),

[3] *JASB*, Vol-LXII, 1893, p. 91.

[4] Stirling, *Accounts of Orissa* (1904, reprint) pp. 34-36.

[5] *Ibid*.

[6] *JNSI*., Vol. VII, p. 83.

[7] *OHRJ*., Vol.1, Pt-1, p. 8.

[8] *OHRJ*, Vol.1, (1952) p. 12.

[9] V. S. Agrawala, *JNSI*, Vol. XV, Pt. I & II, p. 41.

PANAM : A MODE OF CURRENCY IN THE MEDIEVAL DECCAN

VIJAYAKANTA MISHRA*

While carrying out the horticultural operations in the ground leading to SivaTemple adjoining to the Vitthala Temple Bazar, in the national protected area of the Archaeological Survey of India, small sized gold coins which are locally called as *panams* or *fanams*, numbering about 218 were found at Hampi, Bellary district, Karnataka State on 15th December 1978. The coins had no container and, while digging the earth and removing the contents with a mummaty they were found dispersed at a depth of about 40 cms. from the ground level. The entire hoard of coins was immediately taken into possession by the Survey.

On examination, the coins were found to tally with the *Viraraya panamas* of the West coast in size and shape. They are also called *Chandrihanas* as they resemble Moon's full disc in shape and shade. Another name given to them is *Pudumeni.*

The name *panam* or *fanam* is derived from *Pon* (which simply means gold in Tamil) becoming hon in Canarase and the original of the Mohammedan *hun.*

These *panams* appear to have been in use for a great length of time and probably constituted a considerable portion of vast treasures transported to Delhi by the armies of Alauddin and his successor in the 14th century.

Tavernier, who visited India in the 17th century, observed that those coins (*panams*) were current in the territories of the king of Golkonda, the king of Visapour (Bijapur), the great Raja of Carnatica and the Raja of Veloucha (Vellore ?) and at the Diamond mines. Tavernier further observes that these gold coins (*panams*) pass all along the coast of Coromondal from Cape Comorin as far as Bengal.

Different Mark Patterns on Panams

Śrī Vaishṇava, the three pronged sectarian mark, was struck on *panams* probably at Venkatagiri or Tirupathi. The *Gattifanam* (*panam*) with the figure of dagger is identified with the coins of the Maharattas of Tanjore; the bull was related either to Koṇḍavidu or Warangal or perhaps to the later Cholas. The lion or Siṁha was related to Cuddopa and Bellary. The Kongus preferred the elephants on *panams* (*fanams*), the Cholas the boar and fish; and the Chola-Chalukyas the fish and tiger emblems.

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* The Editors are shocked to note the sudden demise of the author.

Besides these, there are great numbers of *panams* which have no resemblance with any other coins and the devices on which are unintelligible. These panams are called *Viraraya panams* and originated from the small principalities on the Malabar coast. They deserve special attention.

The Zamorian got last of these coins struck at Calicut, the capital of the Prince. Marzden attributes the mass striking of these *panams* to the king of Kodagu or Coorg. Either Calicut or Coorg or both the places might be the origin home of these *panams*. But these were found vastly distributed over all the parts of South India; often at spots far distant from the place of their origin.

A large number of these *panams* are found in the eastern districts of the Deccan. This is explained by Buchanan who when, dealing with the money of Palghat and Charakal *taluks* of Malabar, says that the exchange of the *pagoda* for the *Veeraraya panams* also called 'Pudumeni' is very variable, fluctuating between 11¼ to 11¾ per cent, so that a profit of 11 to 12 percent is gained by bringing *Pagodas* from the Carnatic into Malabar and carrying back *Veeraraya Panams* which weigh from 5 to 6 grains.

The obverse sometimes presents an indistinct curved line or lines of elongated mark; the reverse is a devise which has defied all attempts to give any intelligible meaning.

The hoard of 119 gold *panams* found in the Umbali land of Lord Râmeśwara of Chikkerahalli, Honnali *Taluk*, Shimoga district[3] is supposed to have some connection with the Zodiac signs because these *panams* are called *rāi panams* in Travancore and the 12 dots may represent the 12 zodiacal

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[1] Similarly 119 gold coins have been unearthed in the *Umbali* land of the God Rāmeśvara of Chikkerahalli, Honnali *Taluk*, Shimoga district: Elloit: *Coins of Southern India*, pp. 189-192.

[2] Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. I. pp. 374-75; Elphinstone, *India*, Vol. II p. 47.

[3] *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1920*, p. 32.

signs. Below the 12 dots is a symbol that may suggest a crocodile moving from right to left. The animal may represent the *Śiṁśumāra* or the heavenly crocodile supporting on its back the constellation of stars and planets. On the other side we have the curves like Kannada numerals and dots which cannot be satisfactorily explained.

Hampi Panams:

In the present Hampi collection we have *panams* of the following description

Metal : Gold (Base)
Size : Round, diameter apprx. 1 cm.
Weight : 4 to 5 grains
Provenance : Near Vitthala Temple Bazar Complex, Hampi.
Obverse : A group of 12 dots in three lines of 4 dots each in angular patterened lines.
Reverse : Dots ranging from 12 to 14 numbers distributed in two rows in arch like pattern, the free ends of which are held by brackets, the base of which forms an inverted 'U' with a dot in its supper curved portion and supported by a dot on either side.

There were three denominations of gold coins that were struck and which were in currency.

Market Value:

It will not be out of place to state that the Pagoda was gold coin of the highest value weighing about 53 grains and in common use all over South India. Half-Pagoda was the coin next in value to the *Pagoda. Panam* or *Fanam* came below the *Half-Pagoda* weighing about 5 grains and probably being one of the smallest gold coins in the world.

According to Elliot,[1] the traditional rate prevalent in the Hindu South during the 15th and 16th centuries and earlier was 10 *fanams Pagoda.* During the first quarter of the 17th centuary A. D. the rate was 15 *Fanams Pagoda* on the sea-board, both in Golcunda and in the Hindu territory further south. Later on the proportion changed. Bowery shows 32 in Madras, 24 in Calicut, 12 in Golcunda, 18 in Porto Novo while other later accounts show similar diversity.

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[1] Sir Waltter Elliot; '*Coins of Southern India*' (1886) p 140 ff.

Material:

The coin was normally struck in gold containing varying proportion of gold. This explains the difference in the value of *panams* in terms of *Pagodas* at different places. Earlier in the 17th century, when the amonnt of alloy in a *panam* was constant at different places, its value in terms of *pagoda* was also constant.

Silver was never popular in the South as a medium of currency and the principal gold coin *Pagoda* or even *Panam* had probably no subsidiaries of silver.

Other Varieties of Coins

Besides these three types of indegeneous coins, other varieties of gold coins in currency on the East Coast were (1) Double (2) Albert (3) Noble and (4) Ryder. The English Factors at Masulipatam informed the Company about this in November 1630. The English merchants sometimes paid in Venetian *Sequins*. A *Sequin* was equal to fourteen *fadams*.*

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* I am grateful to Shri S. P. Nainar, Assistant Superintending Archaeologist for assisting me in preparing this paper.

SAIVISM AS REFLECTED ON THE GOLD COINS OF THE NALAS

ANANDA CHANDRA SAHOO

The Nalas, who held sway over Dakshiṇa Kośala,[1] probably in the later half of the 5th century A. D., issued a large number of gold coins which throw considerable light on their religious beliefs.

The number of gold coins of the Nalas so far reported is thirty-two.[2] The issuers of these coins were Varāharāja,[3] Bhavadatta and Arthapati.[4] V.V. Mirashi[5] opines that coins of Varāharāja appear to be the earliest and those of Arthapatti are the latest of the whole lot. Out of the thirty-two gold coins twenty nine (seven large size and twenty-two small size) belong to the king Varāharāja, while one large size coin and two large size coins belong to Bhavadatta and Arthapati respectively.

These coins are round in shape and are made by single die. On the obverse of these coins there are devices and legends, whereas the reverse is blank. These coins according to their size can be grouped broadly into two classes, the larger ones numbering ten measure 20 to 21 mm. in diameter and weigh 19.7 to 24.6 grains each; and the smaller ones, numbering twenty-two are about 15 mm. in diameter and 7.5 grains in weight each.[1] The obverse of these coins are divided into two parts; the upper part contains the figure of the humped-bull (Nandī) and crescent, while the lower portion shows the name of the king who issued it.

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[1] According to D.C. Sircar (*EI. XXVII*, p. 14) the territory of the Nalas lay in the Bastar-Jaypur region about the southern part of the Central Provinces. H. K. Mahtab (*Odiśa-Iṭihasa*, Oriya p. 61) says that the Nala dominion included the district of Chāndā, eastern portion of Bhaṇḍārā district, Bālāghāt, the fort of Vilāspur, Rāypur, northern portion of Bastar, Kānker and Nandgāon in Madya Pradesh and also some portions of Kaliṅga country in the region of present Koraput district, Orissa. B. V. Krishnarao, (*Early Dynasties of Ândhradeśa*, p. 658) holds that the Nalâs were ruling over the region from the river Wain-Ganga in the West to the Indrāvati in the South and from the Eastern ghāts in the east to Mekalā region in the north. Fleet (*JBBRAS*, XVI, pp. 225-35) on the basis of reference to Nalavādoi Vishaya in a Chālukya inscription argues that probably the territory of the Nalas lay adjoining the Bellāry Kurnool district on the Tungabhadra.

[2] *JNSI*, Vol. 1 (1939) : pp. 29 ff; These coins were discovered in 1939 in the village Edengā in Koṇḍegâon Tahsil, Baster district.

[3] The identification of Varāharāja to whom belong the majority of the Edeṅgā coins is, however, not certain, *OHRJ*, XI, p, 98; though the Rithapur copper plate inscription, (E1, X1X, p. 100ff) shows that Bhavadatta was the successor of Varāharāja.

[4] Arthapati was probably the successor of Bhavadatta of Kesaribeḍā plates. *El*. XXVIII, pp. 12-17.

[5] *JNSI*, No. 1 p. 30.

V. V. Mirashi[2] has given a detailed classification of these coins on the basis of the devices and legends.

The gold coins of the Nalas provide us with some important knowledge about their religious belief. A close scrutiny of the legend on these coins as well as their device reveal that the Nalas were the worshippers of Śiva. The obverse of their gold coins generally contains the device of humped bull and the crescent-moon. The representation of humped bull leads scholars[3] to suggest that it is the theriomorphic representation of the God Śiva.

Mention may be made in this connection to some of the gold coins issued by the Śaiva kings, Viz., Śaśāṅka[4], Samāchāradeva[5] etc. of the neighbouring territorries. These coins have some resemblances to the coins of the Nalas.

A. S. Altekar[6] holds that "the bull standard of Samāchāra and Śiva and Nandī on the coins of Śaśāṅka show that both were Śaivas." As regards the representation of Śiva on the coins Coomaraswamy[7] points out that we find at first the humped bull alone, then a two-armed, and finally a foure-armed figure accompanying the bull, once the representative of the deity, now his "Vehicle" (Vāhana), while other symbols are held in the hands as attri-

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1. *JNSI, I.* p. 29.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 29-30.
3. *HIIA*, p. 45; *DHI*, p. 12.
4. *BMC, G.D.* pl. XXIII. 14; *CGE*, pl. XIXA, 8; p. 329.
5. *IMC*, p. 120, pl. XVI, 11, BMC, GD. p. 149, pl. XXIV. 4: p. 327.
6. *CGE*, p. 326.
7. *HIIA*, p. 45.

butes." J. N. Banerjea[1] also observes that "In the case of Śiva, it is true, there cannot be much doubt in identifying the bull appearing on many indigenous coins as well as on those of the alien rulers of India as representing him theriomorphically." In fact, the depiction of humped bull on the coins was also popular in the age of the Indo-Scythian rulers.[2]

To corroborate our contention we may mention some of the epigraphic records of the Nala kings. Bhavadattavarman[3] is said to have obtained royal fortune through the grace of Maheśvara (Śiva) and Mahāsena (Skanda-Kārttikeya). The passage in this inscription reads--"*Maheśvara-Mahāsenātisṛishṭa rājya Vibhava*". It may also be interpreted to mean that the king dedicated his kingdom and wealth to the god Śiva and his son Skanda.[4]

The name Bhava is a synonym of God Śiva himself. The evidence at our disposal leads us to believe that the Nalas were ardent followers of Śaiviam, as we find the theriomorphic representation of Lord Śiva on all the coins of this dynasty.

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[1] *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 112.

[2] P. Gardaner (*British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*) p. 162. The humped bull, represented on the reverse side of the unique gold coin of an uncertain Indo-Scythic king, bearing legends in Greek and Kharoṣthī scripts, Tauras and Uṣabha (Vṛishabha), may stand for Siva, this reminds us of the same device appearing on the coins of the white Hun ruler Mihirakula with the legend *Jayatu vṛishaḥ* in the script of the period.

[3] Rithapur Copper-plate, *EI*, XIX, p. 100 ff.

[4] *JNSI*, I, pp. 251-53.

FOUR SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM ALLAHABAD

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

(Pl. VIII 1-4 & 5)

On 6th October 1976 I received four silver punch-marked coins from one of my students. According to him 42 coins, stored in a small earthen pot, had come out at the time of digging the base of a house. Out of 42 he could bring only four pieces to me.

Allahabad region has yielded different forms of ancient Indian currency from time to time. Kauśāmbī has proved to be the richest site. Jhūsī, Lācchāgiri and Bhīṭā are a few other sites from where ancient coins have also been found. But the coins under discussion have come from new site Soron in tehsīl Haṇḍiā, district Allahabad.

All of these four coins are rectangular having similar weight and size. A single symbol of caduceus is invariably punched on one side of all these coins. The other side of the coins bears a group of three, four or five symbols which also include caduceus. The symbol of caduceus represented on both the sides of all the coins appears to have played an important role in this group and all the coins, therefore, appear to belong to one and the same variety.

The symbols, punched on these coins, in relief on a sunken incuse which are eight in number and some of which appear on more than one coins are detailed as under:—

a. Sun symbol, a circle with a dot in the centre and rays around, Plate VIII. 5. (fig. a)

b. Six-armed symbol or *shadara-chakra* with three arrow heads and three taurines placed alternately (fig. b).

c. Six-armed symbol or *shadara-chakra* with three arrow heads and three, what appear to be, circles (fig. c).

d. Three-arched hill with a crescent at the top (fig. d).

e. A solid circle (fig. e).

f. A symbol of two circles, one within other or a wheel without spokes (fig. f).

g. Caduceus symbol (fig. g).

h. A standing human figure having, what appears to be, a bag or pot in his right hand and a rod or *daṇḍa* like object in his left hand and a parasol above his head (fig. h).

Human figure on silver punch-marked coins is a common symbol. While Allan identifies the human figure, which also occurs on some Ujjayinī coins, as Kārtikeya, Shastri takes it as Śiva in his *brahmachārin* aspect.[1]

Details of all these coins are given as under;—

No. 1. Rect. 1. 6 x 1.2 cms, wt. 3. 05 gms.
Obv. Symbols a, c, d, g and h.
Rev. Symbol g (**Pl. VIII 1**).

No. 2. Rect. 1. 5 x 1.2 cms, wt. 3.05 gms.
Obv. Symbols c, d, f, g.
Rev. Symbol g (**Pl. VIII 2**).

No. 3. Rect. 1.1 x 1.3 cms, wt. 3. 3 gms.
Obv. Symbols d, e, g and an unidentified one.
Rev. Symbol g (**Pl. VIII 3**).

No. 4. Rect. 1.5 x 1.2 cms, wt. 3. 2 gms.
Obv. Symbols b, d, g and an unidentified one.
Rev. Symbol g (**Pl. VIII 4**).

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[1] *JNSI*, XXXVI, p. 1.

A TERRACOTTA PROOF PIECE OF THE SILVER COIN OF VĀSISHṬHĪPŪTRA PULUMĀVI

(Pl. VI. 1)

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

During my visit to Paiṭhaṇ in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra, in March 1979, I had an opportunity to examine a part of the rich collection of Shri Balasaheb Patil, an enlightened collector of antiquities. The piece published with his kind permission in these pages belongs to his collection.

It was originally an almost circular piece of burnt clay nearly a half of which is broken away and missing. Its maximum diameter is 3.3 cms. It has a circular cavity in the centre a part of which is lost together with the missing half. The diameter of the cavity is 1.8 cms. Inside it we find the positive impression of the reverse die of the silver coin of the Sātavāhana monarch Vāsishṭhipitra Pulumāvi. All the devices noticed on his silver coins[1] and the reverse legend except only three letters upper portions of which have been lost in the missing portion are intact and in an excellent state of preservation. As on the die struck coins of the Sātavāhanas, the devices and legend are in relief. The centre is occupied by the usual devices of the later Sātavāhana silver coins, *viz.*, Ujjain symbol and six-peaked hill, both surnounted by a crescent, in a row from left to right, a radiant solar device between their upper portions and underneath a wavy line symbolising the river. The legend along the periphery commencing at 12 o' clock read as follows:–

Arahaṇasha Va......mākaṇasha tiru Pulumāvisha

Of the letter *vā*, only the lower portion has come out; but enough remain to make one sure of the letter *va*. Only the medial sign of *ā* is lost. Of the three following letters, only the lower portion is preserved. But with the help of the known silver coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi these missing, or rather incomplete, *aksharas* cannot be restored as *hiṭṭi* and the complete legend is thus the Dravidian rendering of the Prākrit legend on the obverse, *arahaṇa* standing for 'king', *mākaṇa* for 'son' and *tiru* for '*śrī*'.

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[1] For Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumavi's silver coins see *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 1-3, pl. I, 1-2; XXXVIII (i), pp. 12-16, pl. I.4; *Archaeological Studies* III. There is another silver coin of this ruler in the collection of Shri Johri of Indore.

The terminal letter following *arahaṇa*, *mākaṇa* and *Pulumāvi* has been variously read as *sha* or *ku*, the latter being used at present as a genitive singular in Telugu. The use of *pulli* in *ṭṭi* which is missing in the present piece, brings the legend close to Tamil. The words *arahaṉ* and *mākaṉ* in some form or the other are in vogue in Tamil, Kannada and Telugu. We may therefore reasonably conclude that the language of the reverse legend of the Sātavāhana silver coins is neither purely Tamil nor Telugu as contended by some scholars but a proto-Dravidian language the elements of which were later incorporated in the modern South Indian languages.

The present piece reminds us of a terracotta mould bearing the reverse devices and legend of the silver issues of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi in negativ found in course of excavations at Nagarjunakonda. But while the latter has a negative impression and appears to be a forger's equipment to cast the imitations of silver issues,[1] the piece described here exactly resembles the reverse of the silver coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi, the devices and the legend being in positive.

It is difficult to determine the use of this piece. As the devices and the legend are all struck from a die exactly as on the silver coins, it could not have obviously been used as a mould. The only other use it could have been put to was that of a proof piece. It appears that a clay impression of the die was sent to the king or the authorities concerned for their approval and after the requisite approval it was preserved in the royal records office or the mint. It has to be remebered in this connection that Paithaṉ, the findspot of this piece, represents ancient Pratishṭhāna which was the copital of the later Sātavāhanas at least from the time of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi and must have obviously had a mint. Another point that seems to support this suggestion about its use is that it is a baked piece obviously meant for preservation and use as a model. It may be expected that more such pieces will be discovered in future.

In this connection reference must be made to a few similar pieces found elsewhere. A terracotta positive impression of a Magha coin has been reported from Kauśāmbī and is now in the collection of Shri Suresh Kumar Agrawal of Allahabad. It must have also served a Proof piece and preserved in the mint or records office of the Maghas.

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[1] This conclusion is based on the fact that the Śātavāhana silver coins are die-struck and not cast in moulds, The same is true of the moulds of Western Kshatrapa silver coins,

Numerous positive impressions of both the obverse and reverse of the Gupta gold coins on well burnt clay and bearing a red slip have been found in the excavations at Rajghat which represents the ancient site of the city of Vārānasī.[1] Krishna Deva, who published these pieces, was inclined to regard them as tokens or marks of official authentication, passports or identity cards.[2] He was led to this conclusion as these pieces bear no signs, *e. g.*; grooves or impressions of string or tape, of their use as sealings. We feel, however, that these pieces may also have been employed as proof pieces.

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[1] *JNSI*, III, pp, 73 ff.

[9] *Idid.*, p, 76.

SOME HORSE TYPE COINS

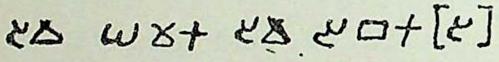
A. H. SIDDIQUI

(Pl. VI. 3-6)

The horse type coins were issued by the later Śātavāhanas Meghasvāti,[1] Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi,[2] Vasisṭhīputra Sātakarṇi,[3] Yajña Sātakarṇi,[4] Chandra Sātakarṇi,[5] Mahātalavaras,[6] Yasasa of Mahisa dynasty,[7] and Sebakas. In my collection there are a few horse type coins with new legends and in this article I propose to describe them :

Coin No. (*I*) : Metal : lead. Shape : Circular. Wt : 6.110 grammes.

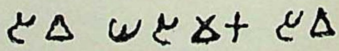
Obv : A horse facing left and above Śrīvatsa symbol. The legend discernable from 3.0'clock runs in clockwise direction and is to be read as



Seva Yamaka Seva Sebakas

Rev : A three-arched Chaitya within double-lined square with Svastika on either side of the topmost arch. (**Plate VI. 3**)

Coin No (2). : Metal : lead, Shape : Circular. Wt : 3.755 grammes Size : 1.60 cm.

Obv : A horse facing left with tail raised. A Śrīvatsa symbol in front and a Svastika on the back of the animal. The legend visible from 2 0'clock and running in clockwise direction is to be deciphered as *Seva Yasamaka Seva*.... 

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1. *BMC*, p. 28, Pl. V—5.
2. *ECWI*, No. 12.
3. *JDHC*, *II*, p. 80, No. 86.
4. *BMC*, p. 38, Pl. VI—150.
5. *BMC*, p. 33, Pl. VI—130.
6. *JNSI*, XV, p. 117.
7. *JNSI*, XI, p. 2.

Rev ; Within a double-lined square, a chaitya of five arches, with three pellets in lower arches and one pellet in upper arches.

(Plate VI. 4)

The legend on Coin No. (1) mentions the issuer of the coin as Seva Yamaka Seva Sebaka. This indicates that the ruler belonged to the Sebaka dynasty. The second coin has the name of the king as Seva Yasamaka Seva. As the later part of the legend is off the flan of the coin it cannot be said whether the ruler of Coin No. (2) also belonged to Sebaka dynasty or not. However, the fact that the name commencess with Seva and the ends with maka, and is followed by another Seva suggests that both the kings belonged to the same dynasty.

Coins of different rulers of Sebaka dynasty have been published earlier. Mirashi,[1] Dikshit,[2] R. K. Sethi[3] and the author of this note[4] mentioned the square type coins of *Ramno Sebakasa*. The second lead coin published by Mirashi[5] bears the legend *Pakasa Siva Sebakasa*. Dinker Rao published one coin of the Sebaka dynasty with the legend *Pakasa Siva Sebakasa Mahagamakasa*.[6] The title Mahagamaka is also found on coins containing Svastika and Ujjain symbols[7] described by Mirashi and have been ascribed to Mahisa dynasty. Another lead coin with the legend *Seva Sebakasa* has been published recently by Dinker Rao.[8]

The legends of the two coins described by me reveal that these Sebaka rulers had names ending with maka such as Yamaka or Yasamaka. Hence, in the legend of Pakasa Siva Sebakasa Mahagamaka, Mahagamaka is not the title of a subordinate village officer but may be part of the name of the ruler.

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[1] *JNSI*, VII, p. 44 ff.
[2] *JNSI*, XXX, p. 186.
[3] *Num. Dige*. I, Pt. II, p. 10.
[4] *JNSI*, XXXIX, p. 78-79.
[5] *JNSI*. VIII, p, 107,
[6] *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 160-167.
[7] *JNSI*, XII, p, 82, Pl. VIII, Nos, 10-13.
[8] *Num. Digest*, I, Pt. II, p. 17.

A UNIQUE GOLD COIN OF BHĀNUGUPTA AND PRAKĀŚĀDITYA

K. S. SHUKLA

(Pl. VI: 2)

The aim of writing this paper is to throw some light on the identification of Prakāśāditya on the basis of a unique Gupta gold coin. The details of the coin are as follows :

Horseman-Lion-slayer type Gupta Gold Coin

Obv : King, mounted on horse back and facing right, is in the posture of hunting a rampant lion. The legend in Brāhmī characters is to be seen on the top right and left of the king as well as in the bottom just under the hoops of the horse. The legend from 6 O'clock to 12 O'clock reads—

Vijita Vasudhāṁ divam Jayati

And the legend from 2 O'clock to 4 O'clock reads—

Bhānugu (pta)

There is also a latter *ru* written just under the dangling foot of the king who is on the horse. A broad belt or strap is seen hanging down from the horse's back.

Rev : The nimbate goddess is seated cross-leged on a half blown lotus holding a noose or something like it in her right hand. The legend on her left reads—

Śri Prakāśāditya

The uniqueness of the coin lies in :

1. The absence of royal standard (*Garuḍadhvaja*).
2. The legend *Bhānugupta* being written on the right of the King beginning from 2 O'clock.
3. A broad belt or strap dangling down.
4. The legend *vijita* just under the right foot of the king at 6 O'clock.

The importance of the coin lies in the fact that it bears on the obverse the name of Bhānugupta whose coins have not been found anywhere; so far as I am aware. Secondly, it also bears the name of *Śrī Prakāśāditya* on the reverse. Now, the question is whether Bhānugupta and Prakāśāditya were identical or the latter was the successor of the former. The name of the latter on the reverse suggests that he enjoyed a subordinate position to the former (Bhānu gupta) who was the king of Malwa[1] and reigned from 510 to 525 A. D.[2] One of his chief feudatories was Goparāja[3] who was killed while fighting against the Hūṇas. His wife immolated herself and became '*Sati*' with him. Thus, Malwa passed into the hands of the Huṇas in the time of Bhānugupta[4]

From the above account it is obvious that Bhānugupta was the king of Malwa and the provenance of his coins bearing the legend *Śrī prakāshāditya* on the reverse suggests that his domain extended upto the central and western parts of Uttar Pradesh; and Prakāśāditya was probably his vassal king or viceroy administering this region on his behalf. Opinions differ about the identification of Prakāśāditya whose own coins are mostly found in U. P. comprising the districts of Banaras (Bharasar) Kanauj, Hardoi, Shahjahanpur and Rampur.[5] The present coin comes from Safipur Tehsil of districts Unnao. On the basis of the provenance of the coins of Prakāśāditya in this region it was surmised by Altekar that Prakāśādiya was not of the later Guptas whose domain was mainly limited to the eastern part of India.[6] That Altekar was right is proved by this particular coin which bears the names of both the rulers. The date of Bhānugupta has already been confirmed by the Eran inscription. Altekar appears to have been wrong in identifying him with Purugupta, the brother of Skandagupta. The basis of his identification is, as he has himself stated, the peculiar posture of the seated goddess, as is evident from her cross legs resembling a pillow. This posture is also seen on the coins of

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[1] Prof. K. D. Bajpai, *Sagar through the Ages*, p. 37.

[2] Alteker : *Guptakālīa Mudrāyān*, (Hindi) Appendix 2, p. 29.

[3] Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 91 eran Inscription No. 1.

[4] Om Prakash, *Prāchina Bhārat Kā Ithihāsa*, p. 225.

[5] Altekar, *Guptakālīna Mudrāyen*, p. 197.

[6] *Ibid.*

Skandagupta[1] and Narsimhagupta.[2] Again. it is his conviction that Purugupta of the Bhitari seal is none else than Prakāśāditya.[3] He also opines that as the letter *ru* is found on the coins of Vishṇugupta who ruled about 490 A.D., Prakāśāditya i. e. Purugupta probably introduced this letter frist and Vishṇugupta adopted it afterwards.[4] But on the evidence of the present coin it may be concluded that: (1) Prakāśāditya was not Purugupta, and, (2) he was the successor of Bhānugupta. As regards the letter *ru* it was first introduced by Vishṇugupta (490 A.D.) who probably preceded both Bhānugupta and Prakāśāditya. The distinctive features of this coin from those of the same coin type of Prakāśāditya show that Bhānugupta and Prakāśāditya were two different rulers and they cannot be identified as one and the same. However, the first and the last syllables of the names of both the kings respectively suggest synonymity in their names. Nevertheless, it also appears probable that Prakāśāditya, after the passage of Malwa into the hands of the Hūṇas might have become an absolute king and have struck his own coins [5] independently. His slaying of the lion perhaps symbolises his victory over the barbaric hordes of the Hūṇas who made a dent upto Magadha, but were thwarted to move into the middle and upper Gangetic region ruled by Śrī Prakāśāditya.

Editor's note

K. S. Shukla deserves our appresciation for bringing to light this very important coin of the Gupta emperor Bhānuguupta Prakāśāditya which will prove to be an epoch making discovery for the history of the Gupta dynasty. Shukla could not fully realise the real importance of his discovery and also he faild to collect full details about it. The photograph of the coin is also not very satisfactory which was taken by him some five years back. In a communication he informed me that the coin was found from Nawal (ancient Nava-devakula) about 2 kms. N. W. of Bangarmau, district Unnao, U. P. It was brought to his notiee by a local goldsmith about five years ago; its whereabout is not known.

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[1] Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 284 pl. XIV, 10-11.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 284. pl. XV. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 284.

[4] *Ibid.*, foot-note 2.

[5] *Ibid.*, Pl. XV, 14.

This coin firmly establishes the identity of Bhānugupta of the Eran inscription of Goprāja[1] and Prakāśāditya of the coins. Perhaps the first coins of Prakāśāditya were found in a hoard discovered from village Bharsar near Varanasi in 1851. From about 160 coins only 96 could be recovered and out of these 71 were of Chandragupta II. Allan has described 32 coins of this hoard : 5 of Samudragupta, 10 of Chandragupta II, 8 of Kumāragupta, 6 of Skandagupta and 2 of Prakāśāditda.[2] The Eran inscription was discovered by Cunningham in 1874-75 or 76-77 and published in 1880.[3] Fleet edited it in 1888.[4] Since then the identification of Bhānugupta as a Gupta ruler is doubted. Some still regard him as a local ruler of Malwa.[5] B. P. Sinha also does not recognise him as a Gupta ruler.[6] This discovery reminds us of the interesting story of Budhagupta's emergence as a Gupta emperor as a result of the discoveries made during the period of more than a century (i. e. 1838 to 1943).[7]

The coins bearing the legend *Prakāśāditya* on the reverse like other Gupta gold coins, have ths name of the issuing king on obverse. But unfortunately in almost all the specimens published so far the name portion is out of flan.[8] This led the scholars to speculate about the identity of the king on the basis of the reverse legend *prakāśāditya* only. Prakāśāditya was first identified with Purugupta[9] by Hoernle but later he changed his views in favour of Yaśodharman of Malva.[10] Smith favoured the Purugupta theory.[11] Allan was hesitant to share this view and observed that it was 'highly impossible that Purugupta was called both Vikramāditya and Prakāśāditya, so that we must attribute these coins to some king...who must be placed about the end of the fifth century A. D.'[1] But inspite of his brilliant analysis of the facts. Allan places the coins of Prakāśāditya with those of Purugupta. Altekar first identified him with Budhagupta[2] but with the discovery of the gold coins of Budhagupta he reverted to Purugupta for identification.[3] P. L. Gupta had originally suggested Prakāśāditya to be the title of Bhānugupta on the basis of the nature of *bhānu* (sun) as *prakāśa* (light).[4] J. W. Curtis supported him.[5] But later, the absence of these coins in the Kālighāt hoard and the gold contents in the coins led him to revise his views and to say that these coins would only be earlier than Vainyagupta while Bhānugupta was earlier in date than Vainyagupta. He now thought he might be Tathāgatagupta of Yuan Chwang's account.[6]

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[1] Cf. Sircar, D. C.: *Select Inscriptions*, p. 345 ff.

[2] Allan, *BMC, Coins of the Gupta Dynasties etc.*, Introduction, p. 127.

[3] Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. X, p. 89.

[4] Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 91.

[5] Bajpai, K. D., *Sagar Through the Ages*, p. 37.

[6] *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadh*,

[7] Sircar, D. C., *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 13.

[8] Only the American Numismatic Society specimen shows the truncated lower portion of the lettrs of king's name: *Cf.* Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Pl. XIX. 15 and p. 354.

[9] *JASB*, LVIII, 1880, pp. 93-94.

[10] *JRAS*, 1905, I, pp. 133-35.

[11] *EHI*, p. 329; and *IMC*, I, p. 119.

But the present coin conclusively shows that P. L. Gupta's original opinion was correct. The reasons given for the change of his views are not in any way very much valid. The entire content of the Bharsar hoard is not known. It is not unlikely that the missing portion of the hoard might have had a few more coins of Prakāśāditya. The gold contents of the coins of Budhagupta as given by him ranged between 70 and 78 percent.[7] The coins of Vainyagupta and Prakāśāditya both cover this range. The few coins of Vainyagupta that so far have been analysed reveal 73% gold. It is not unlikely that there may be some other coins of this ruler with more gold contents, going upto 78%. In that case the coins of Prakāśāditya with 77% of gold could well be placed before and|or after Vainyagupta. So not much importance be attached to the gold contents. Thus Prakāśāditya of coins, whose name on the present coin may be unmistakenly read as Bhānugupta, may now be firmly identified as the Gupta emperor Bhāṇugupat of the Eran pillar inscription. P. L. Gupta although does not give him a place in the Gupta genealogy but being a numismatist he did not deny the possibility of Prakāśāditya being a son of Narasimhagupta whom he considers to have been killed in the war with the Hūṇas.[1] Though at the present stage of knowledge it is not possible to ascertain the name of the father of Bhānugupta but there can be no doubt that he was the same Gupta king for whom Goparaja was killed while fighting with the Hūṇas.

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[1] *Op. Cit.*, Introduction, 52.

[2] *JNSI*, X, p. 78.

[3] *Op. Cit.*, p. 283.

[4] *JNSI*, XII, pp. 34-35.

[5] *Ibid*,. XX, p. 73.

[6] *Gupta Sāmrājya*, p. 190; and *The Imperial Guptas*, Vol. I. p. 194.

[7] *Ibid* p. 59. and p. 70 respectively.

Now it would be interesting to note the titles of the Gupta kings found on their coins.

Samudragupta	*Parākramaḥ*; also as *aśvamedhaparākramaḥ*, *and vyāghraparākramaḥ*; *Apratiratha*; *Kṛitāntaparaśu*; (*sarvarājyochchheta* as Kācha).
Chandragupta II	*Vikramāditya*; *Śrīvikramaḥ*; *Ajitavikramaḥ*; *Siṁhavikramaḥ,*; *Chakravikramaḥ.*
Kumāragupta I	*Mahendrāditya*; *Śrīmahendra*; *Ajitamahendra*; *Aśvamedhamahendra; Mahendrasiṁha*, *Mahendragaja*, *Mahendrakhaḍga* (*Apratigha* also).
Skandagupta	*Vikramāditya* and *Kramāditya.*
Purugupta	*Kramāditya*; *Vikramaḥ,*
Ghaṭotkachagupta	*Kramāditya.*
Narasimhagupta	*Bālāditya.*
Kumāragupta II	*Kramāditya.*
Budhagupta	*Śrīvikramaḥ.*
Vishṇugupta	*Śrīchandrāditya.*
Vainyagupta	*Dvādaśāditya.*
Bhānugupta	*Prkāśāditya.*

It appears from the above that most of the later emperors of the dynasty after Skandagupta had the title ending in *āditya.*

Shukla misunderstood Altekar when he quotes him saying that 'Prakāśāditya was not one of the later Gupta emperor whose domanion was mainly limited to the eastern part of India'. Actually Altekar has said "The identity of Prakāśāditya is difficult to determine at present, His coins are not found in east India. Their find spots, Rampur, Shahjhanpur, Hardoi. Kanauja and Bharsar

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[1] *Gupta Samrajya*, p. 194.

(in Banaras district) suggest that he was not a later emperor, whose power was confined to parts of Bengal. In the Bharsar hoard, Skandagupta and Prakāśāditya were the latest Gupta emperors; this would show that he came soon after Skandagupta, if he was not his immediate successor."[1]

The discovery of this coin by K. S. Shukla now ends the long debate about the identity of Prakāśāditya of coins and firmly places Bhānugupta in the genealogy of the imperial Guptas.

T. P. Verma

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[1] *Op. Cit.*, p. 283. The misunderstanding was perhaps due to the english translation of the Hindi work of Altekar by Shukla.

A GOLD COIN OF SĀMANTA KESARI

M. MUKUNDA PRABHU

(Pl. VII. 11)

This brief note publishes a gold coin of one Sāmanta Kesari. The coin weighs 3. 9 gms. (60. 2 grains) and its diameter is 13 mms.

The obverse shows a loin to the right, its left forepaw raised and the tail, curled above its back. In the field above there is a raised dot and the below the belly of the lion. There is a character or symbol resembling the Kannada letter *'Ka'*.

The reverse shows three horizontal lines dividing the field into four parts. The uppermost part shows a crescent and a circle representing the moon and the sun respectively. The legend in Kannaḍa *"Sri sa Ma/Nta Ke sa ri"* occupies the second and third parts, the lowermost part is blank. The characters appear to belong to the tenth or eleventh century; the form of the letter *"KE"* is particularly notable.

There is only one published inscription which mentions a Sāmnta Kesarī. Unfortunately, it is a label inscribed on a pillar in the Kolaramman Temple recording the name of the donor. No further information about this person is available.

The Editors of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, have listed the epigraph with the inscriptions of the Gaṅga period in the dynastic lists at the end of the volume. The weight of the coin, 3.9 gms. matches precisely with the weight of the Ane pon (Elephant pagoda) of the Gaṅgas. The earlier Chālukyan coins weigh more,. 4 to 4.2 gms i. e. and those of the later Chālukyas, Alūpas and Yādavas weigh 3.69 to 3.7 gms. The coins of the Hoysalas weigh between 3.95 and 4 gms.

It may, therefore, be inferred that the coin is related to the Gaṅga coinage and that Sāmanta Kesarī could have been one of the more important feudatories of the Gaṅgas. A more satisfactory identifcation of the issuer is not possible at present.

(1. *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. XVII, Kolar Taluk No : 260).

A GOLD COIN OF SADĀŚIVA RĀYA

V. V. SUBBA REDDY

(Pl. VI. 8)

Recently a gold coin was discovered at Mokshagundam village in Giddalur taluk of Prakasham district in Andhra Pradesh. The village is 15 kilometres from Cumbum railway station. The coin was picked up from the cultivated fields by a woman. On receipt of information from A. Kota Reddy of Cumbum, I visited the village and examined the site. The owner readily parted with the coin for my study.

The coin which is circular has a diameter of 1. 1 cm. and weighs 3. 4 It is in an excellent state of preservation and retains the symbols and the legend in their mint condition.

Prof. R. Subramanyam of Nagarjune University studied the coin. According to him on the obverse of the coin there is a representation of Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa, seated on a pedestal in *Ardhaparyaṅka* pose. Vishṇu holds in his upper right hand *chakra* and in the upper left hand *Saṅkha* The normal hand is in *Abhaya* The two-handed goddess Lakshmī holds a lotus in the right hand and leaves the left one in the in *Dola Hasta mudrā*.

On the reverse the legend in Devanāgari script running in three parallel lines reads *Śrī Sadāśiva Rāya Ṣrī*.

Thr legend enables us to ascribe the coin to Sadāśiva Raye of Vijayanagar who ruled between A. D. 1543 and 1576. The figures clearly indicate the king's predilection towards Vaishṇavism. He issued gold and copper coins, His gold coins are in two denominations, *varāha* and *half varāha* one.

Sadāśiva Rāya, who was a son of a brother of Krishṇadeva Rāya namely Raṅga Rāya, ascended the throne of the Vijayanagara empire in 1543 with the blessings of Aliya Rāma Rāya who proclaimed him emperor after a civil war that followed his accession. In the war Tirumala was killed and Sadāśiva Rāya was coronated. Aliya Rāma Rāya, who was Krishṇadeva Raya's son-in-law, was the *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagara; Sadāśiva Raya being only a nominal ruler.

There is little that can be said of Sadāśiva Rāya as the *de jure* ruler of Vijayanagara empire. However, under the guidance of Aliya Rāma Rāya, who was a capable administrator, the kingdom became most powerful and most feared in the south, but the policies of Rāma Rāya led to the battle of Tallikota fought in 1565. It sounded the death-knell of the Vijayanagara empire in the south. Aliya Rāma Rāya was killed by Hussain-Nizam-Shah. The news of the terrible battle stunned the people of Vijayanagara and Tirumala Raya, a brother of Rāma Rāya, fled to Penukonda along with Sadāśiva Rāya.

After the Muslim army left the city in a vast heap of ruins, Tirumala Rāya returend to Vijayanagara and tried his best to restore the city to its former glory and position. He found the city beyond all repair and revival. Therefore, he found the Aravidu dynesty at Penukonda in the present Ananthapur district. Sedāśive Rāya continued to rule at Vijayanagar till 1576. After the death of Sadāśiva Rāya, Tirumala Rāya came to power at the age of 90 but the kingdom fell into ruins quickly as it was neglected completely by the later incompetent rulers.

THE FIRST NOLAMBA COIN

M. S. KRISHNA MURTHY

(Pl. VI. 8)

Not a single coin of the Nolamba dynasty has been known to the historians till recently. We are thankful to Sohanlal Sisodaya, a business man cum numismatist of Bangalore who brought to light a Nolamba gold coin a few months back. But before adducing the details of the coin it will not be out of place to give a brief account of the history of the Nolambas.

The Nolambas were a minor ruling power who held sway over south-eastern parts of Deccan from the middle of the eighth century to the middle of the eleventh century A. D. Though they started their political career as the subordinates of the Chalukyas of Badami, they later exercised power sometimes independently and sometimes as the feudatories of the Western Gaṅgas, the Rāshtrakutas or the Kalyana Chalukyas. Being wedged in between the Karnataka and Tamil powers, the Nolamba kingdom acted as a buffer state.

The Nolamba inscriptions mention different denominations of the then existing currency like *Gadyana* (gold and other), *pon* etc., They record many munificient grants in terms of money given to different institutions and persons. As not a single coin of the Nolambas was found so far it was generally believed that the Western Gaṅga and the Rāshtrakuta coins were legal tender in the Nolamba territoty also, and, that perhaps the Nolambas minted no coins of their own. But the discovery of a Nolamba gold coin has opened a new chapter in the study of the coinage of South India.

This coin is of gold weighing about 3.8 gramms. It is circular in shape and has an average diameter of 1.35 cms. and a thickness of 2 mm. It may be identified as a *Nandi Gadyana* as it possesses the figure of seated *Nandi* on the obverse and its weight corresponds with the weight of the *Gadyanas* of the Kalyāna Chālukyas and others. Nandi on the obverse is beautifully carved and faces to right. It is sitting on a small pedestal. It wears a garland of jingles and other ornaments at the neck. There seems to be a sword at the back of the figure and in front, perhaps, a lamp post, or a '*Nandi Kambha*'.

On the top may be seen a conch below which is a crescent and on the top right is, perhaps, the Sun. (Pl. VI. 8)

The bull is majestically seated with its left foreleg slightly raised up and the right foreleg folded back. The broad eyes, heavy hump, and a globular back portion are nicely delineated. The posture of this bull recalls similar representations of bulls in the Nolamba sculpture.[1]

The reverse contains a legend between three parallel lines in early Kannada characters, "*Śrī Śrī Immaḍi Nolaba Narayaṇa*" i. e., Nolamba Nārāyaṇa II.[2]

Nolamba Nārāyaṇa II may be identified with King Nolambādhirāja Mahendra II (c. A. D. 977-81). Nolamba Nārāyaṇa was one of his many imperial titles.[3] But there is some difficulty with regard to the prefix *Immaḍi*. Whether *Immaḍi* Nolamba has to be taken as Mahendra II (*Immaḍi* Mahendra) who had the title Nolamba Nārāyaṇa or there were two Nolamba Nārāyaṇas in the Nolamba dynasty ? But the study of Nolamba history reveals that Mahendra II was the only king of the dynasty who possessed the title Nolamba Nārāyaṇa. If he, according to the legend on the coin, was Nolamba Nārāyaṇa II, then we have to search for Nolamba Narayana I. For this question an inscription[4] from Hemavati of the Nolamba king Iriva Nolamba Dilipa (A. D. 940-66) may be of some help. The inscription while mentioning the epithets of Prince Ayyapadeva II, mentions Ayyapadeva II as "Pallava Nārāyaṇa." Thus, if we take Ayyapadeva II as the first Nolamba King to possess the title Pallava Nārāyaṇa, Mahendra II may be said to be the second ruler of that dynasty to bear the epithet Nolamba Nārāyaṇa.[5] Ayyapadeva II had a brother named Chhaladankakara Nanni Nolamba. His son was Polalchora II and his son was Mahendra II who had the title Nolamba Nārāyaṇa. It is quite likely that Mahendra II possessed the title which his grandfather (actually grand-father's younger brother) possessed. Thus, Nolamba Nārāyaṇa II (Immadi Nolamba Nārāyaṇa) of the coin in question may be identified with King Mahendra II.[1]

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[1] The representation of Bull on the obverse of the Nolamba coin has some added significance, because the royal insignia of the Nolambas was, perhaps, Nandi. At Hemavati, on a Pillar in the Porch of the Siddheśwara temple we have a small figure of a bull seated on a lotus flanked by two whisks and a parasol on the top, signifying a royal emblem.

[2] Perhaps this is the earliest reference to the word *Immaḍi* on coins.

[3] *E C*. Vol. X, Mb 38, 50.

[4] *S I I.*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 31.

[5] There is absolutely no difference between the epithets Pallava Nārāyaṇa and Nolamba Nārāyaṇa because the Nolambas also traced their lineage to the Pallavas of Kāñchi (*E C*, Vol. XII Si. 28). Another title of King Mahendra II was Pallavabharana.

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[1] I sincerely thank Sri Sohanlal Sisodiya of Bangalore Numismatic Society, Bangalore for allowing me to study this coin. I also thankfully acknowledge the help of Sri H. R. Raghunath Bhat for preparing the line-drawing of the coin.

A NOTE ON KUTCH COINS

D. K. VAIDYA

(**Pl. VII. 10**)

Kutch, in Gujarat State, is lying on the western exteremity of the country. But its former rulers used to have matrimonial connections with as for lands as Tripura and Nepal. Before merging with the Union of India in 1948 it was a small principality and its rulers were regarded as leaders among the other small states of Saurashtra like Rajkot, Gondal, Morbi etc. During the British rule Kutch was one among the thirteen native states of India who enjoyed the right to have their own currency.

From Kutch we get coins of different dynasties who ruled over this part of India such as Indo-Greeks, Kshatrapas, Guptas etc. The antiquity of the former ruling family of Kutch goes to A.D. 1510 when Khengarji I of Jadeja clan from Sindh annexed the local tribes and united the area into one state. Some of his copper coins have come to light. It is said that the Mughal emperor Jahangir granted the right to Rao Bhammalji I in A. D. 1617 to issue his own currency known as *kori*, a silver denomination equal to 1/4 of a rupee. The first such coin was minted at Ahmedabad. The Kutch Museum is in possession of two such pieces which bear the name of Jahangir.

Later issues mention the name of the Gujarat Sultan Muzaffar Shah III who was defeated in the battle of Bhuchar Mori in Saurashtra. Before his capture and suicide this Sultan had granted the right to issue *kori* to Jamnagar provided that his name be mentioned on it. Since then the Kutch *koris* used to carry the name of this Sultan till the time of Pragmalji II when it was replaced by that of Queen Victoria. It is very interesting to note that the name of a defeated and dead overlord is carried upon by a subordinate state for generations. Still another interesting feature of these coins of Kutch rulers is that in their legend they invoke the mercy of Allah in Arabic script. This practice also continued upto the time of Pragmalji II. It is also interesting to note that one of his predecessors, Rao Raydhanji (A. D. 1799-1813) turned Muslimand issued coins with *kalima*. This ruler, because of vehement opposition, could not rule for his full term.

But the rulers of Kutch did not stuck with the tradition in the matter of denominations. With the passage of time they felt the necessity of other denominations and accordingly coins of five *koris*, i. e. *Panchia*, and 2½ *koris* i. e. *Adadhia* were issued. Not satisfied with this even gold coins equivalent to 20, 50 and 100 *koris* were issued. Kutch had thus issued a very wide range of coin denominations described as below. Babukia was the smallest copper coin.

Copper	2 *Babukia*	=	1 *Trambia*
	2 *Trambia*	=	1 *Dokdo*
	3 *Trambia*	=	1 *Dhiglo*
	2 *Dhiglo*	=	1 *Dhabu*
	4 *Dhiglo*	=	1 *Paylo*
	2 *Paylo*	=	1 *Adhio*
	2 *Adhio*	=	1 *Kori* (*silver*)
Silver	2½ *Koris*	=	,,
	5 *Koris*	=	,,
Gold	20 *Kori*	=	*gini*
	50 *Kori*	=	*gini*
	100 *Kori*	=	*gini*

The standard coin was *kori* which was equal to 1/4 of a rupee though its value fluctuated greatly and sometimes even it valued 1/6 of a rupee.

Of the above, *Paylo* and *Adhio* were newly introduced by Rao Vijayarajaji (A. D. 1940–48) to conserve metal. *Paylo* in weight was equal to old *Dhigla* and *Adhio* to *Dhabu* but their value was higher. This was the necessary out come of the second world war. Another effect of the world war on this small state was the issue of a *ten-kori* piece known as *Dashio*. Rao Vijayarajaji issued this coin. Actually this was planned by his predecessor Rao Khengarji III (1875–1942) and the dies were prepared but for obscure reasons the coins could not be minted.

Another offshoot of this war was an attempt by Rao Vijayarajaji to issue paper currency of the denominations of 20, 50; 100 and 500 *koris*. Such notes were printed but again could not be put to circulation, presumably because of the approaching integration with the Indian Union, One of the stricking features of the Kutch coins is that Rao Khangarji III issued coins in the name of Edward VIII, the unfortunate English monarch who renounced throne for his love with Simson. The only other state in India to have this interesting distination in Jodhpur. Obviously even England did not issue coins in his name.

The last ruler of this Jadeja dynasty, Rao Madansinghji ruling for a brief period of ten weeks issued coins with the legend Jai Hind. It was for the first time since the inception of the Kutch coins in A.D. 1617, the name of the imperial ruler is found to be absent and in this twilight period of soverignty the Kutch ruler hailed the independence of the nation.

Kutch coins deserve admiration for their nice fabrication and the security ridge with the letters of Kutch state. Its sprawling mint with richly carved gate is still a place of interest in the small town of Bhuj. Some Kutch coins are illustrated in the plate.

A SILVER COIN OF JAYANTIA

JAYANTA BHUSAN BHATTACHARJEE

(Pl. VI. 5)

The Meghalaya State Museum has recently (June 1978) acquired a silver *taṅkā* of Jayantipur from a village in Jaintia Hills District of Meghalaya.

The silver piece is round, weighing 9.2 grammes and measuring 32.9 mms. The legend, in Bengali/Assamese character, is as follows:

Obv. *Śrī-Śrī-Śi-*
va-charana-ka-
mala-madhuka-
rasya

Rev. *Śrī-Śrī-Ja-*
yanti-pura-pu-
randarasya-Śa-
ke 1653

A silver *ṭaṅkā* of Jayantia with the same legend and date was published by A. W. Botham,[1] while A. N. Lahiri reported a gold coin in the 65th session of the Society at Shillong.[2] The latter mentioned some difficulties in reading the second and fourth digits of the gold piece;[3] but every letter and digit of the present piece is distinctly visible and, as a matter of fact, we have come across very few coins of the erstwhile monarchies in North-East India that are so easily readable.

Botham and Lahiri are correct in identifying the striking monarch as Bada Gossain II, because a silver quarter *ṭaṅkā* of Jayantipur of the same date (1653 *Śaka*) bears the name of Raja Bada Gossain.[4]

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[1] Botham, A. M., *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam*: Allahabad. 1930, p. 544.

[2] Lahiri, A. N. presented the "A Unique Jayantipur Gold Coin of the time Bada Gossain II" at the 65th Session of the Numismatic Society of India, Shillong, 1977.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Gait, E,: Some Notes on Jaintia History, *Journal of the 'Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1895, pp. 242–48,

The *Darang-rāj-vaṁśāvali,* the Koch chronicle, tells us that Chilarai, the brother and general of Rājā Naranārāyaṇa of Cooch Behar, after defeating and killing the Rājā of Jayantia allowed the *yuvarājā* to assume the throne on the condition that the rulers of Jayantia would not thenceforth put their names on coins.[1] The full *ṭaṅkā* of Jayantia since then did not bear the name of the striking monarch, although the stipulation was not strictly observed in case of quarter *ṭaṅkā*.

The present silver *ṭaṅkā* was, therefore, issued by Bada Gossain II in *Śaka* 1653 (A. D. 1731). The existence of a number of coins, full and quarter, in gold and silver of the same date makes us believe (as Botham felt) that these are the coronation issues of Bada Gossain II, although Sir Edward Gait puts his reign from 1727 to 1770.[2]

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5. Sarma, N. C. (ed.): *Darang-rāj-vaṁśāvali,* Gauhati, 1973, p. 85.
6. Gait; E. : *A History of Assam,* Third Edition, Gauhati, 1963, p. 419.

A NEW COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL

DEVENDRA HANDA

(Pl. VIII. 6)

Quite a few commemorative medals have been published in this Journal during the last decade.[1] Sometime back I obtained a new bronze commemorative medal described in the following lines:—

Shape : Round

Size : 3·25 cms.

Weight : 18·750 gms.

Thickness : 0·3 cm.

Obverse : In a dot-rimmed circle bust of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru wearing Gandhi *topī* and the typical Nehru-type of waistcoat. The legend 'JEWEL OF INDIA' running along the border in the upper half and 'JAWAHARLAL NEHRU' in the lower half with a half-blossomed lotus-flower with small stalk each on the right and left.

Reverse : In a dot-rimmed circle, Pt. Nehru riding a horse to left. He is wearing a long-coat (*sherwānī*), a tight-fit *pyjāmā* and the Gandhi *ṭopī*. He is shown holding the Congress Flag (tricolour with a spinning wheel in the central stripe) and the reins of horse in his left hand. His left foot is placed in the stirrup. Slightly open mouth, stiff tail and bent fore-legs indicate the movement of the horse. Legend 'SUCCESS COMES TO THOSE WHO DARE & ACT' beginning at VII and ending at V. A rising sun at VI marking the beginning and end of the legend.

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[1] *JNSI*, XXIX, pp. 91-2. Pl. IV. 5; XXX, pp. 236-8, Pls. III. 1 and XI, 4-6; XXXI, pp. 189-93, Pl. IV. 2-6; XXXIII, p. 134, Pl. VI. 4; XXXIV, pp. 98-9, Pl. V. 2; XXXVII, pp. 177-9. Pl. 3 & 4.

The obverse and reverse dies are completely adjusted. The medal is quite thick having milled edge. The milling is straight. Obviously it is machine-made and beautiful. The piece is silver-plated. Silver plating was done probably to make it appear as that of silver and attractive, something to be kept and preserved.

The reverse device depicts an important event in the life of Pt. Jawaherlal Nehru. It commemorates his presiding over the forty-fourth historic session of the Congress Party of India, held at Lahore during the last week of 1929, wherein a resolution for complete independence was passed declaring an all-out war against the British. It was on this occasion that Pt. Nehru rode a horse with the Congress flag in his hand and a big procession was taken out declaring him to be the crown-less emperor of the Indian masses. The obverse device portrays Nehru as a grown up man. The legend 'JEWEL OF INDIA' which seems to be a literal translation of '*Bhārata-Ratna*', however, suggests that the medal may have been struck in 1955 when this highest honour of the country was conferred on him on the 15th July, 1955.[2]

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1. I had sent an ink-impression of this medal to the Director, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi to ascertain its date of issue and other knowlagables but was informed by Shri S. R. Mahajan, Asstt. Curator (vide his letter No. F. 15-16/75/MUS date (February, 17, 1977) that the said institution has not come across such a medal and cannot furnish any information regarding its date, fabrication etc.

   It is hoped that some reader of this *Journal* will shed light on the exact date of its issue and the person or agency that got it manufactured and issued it.

2. The legend jewel of India is not to be connected with the title BhārataRatna. The first part of the name of Jawahar Lal Nehru means 'jewel' and it is popular memory that he was commonly described as the Jawahar (jewel) of India. The bust on the obverse refers to an advanced age of his life. The legend on the reverse "*Success comes to those who dare & act*" will have better relevance of the medal if referred to the post Independence period. Here it may be noticed that on the obverse the flower depicted on the two sides is lotus. Lotus no doubt, is the national flower and has a long history in the religious tradition of the country. But as is well known, the favourite flower of Nehru, which later in art and literature came to symbolise him was a red rose. As this symbolism took time to establish, it may be surmised that the medal was issued in the early years after Independence. But there is nothing also in the medal itself to fix the date. It may be further pointed out that the medal could not have been stuck after the death of Nehru because in that case the years of his birth and death. (1889–1964) would appropriately have occured on the medal as on the coins commemorating him. L. G.]

NĀṆAKA : A COIN DENOMINATION

B. CHATTERJEE

In the Mṛichchhakaṭika of Śūdraka[1] we find mention of 'nāṇaka' as a generic term for coins. The heroine of the drama, Vasantasenā, has been referred to as 'eśā nāṇakamuśikā-makaśikā' in prākṛit, which is, in Sanskrit form, 'eshā nāṇakamoshikāmakaśikā', in English, 'she is a whip to lust of the stealer of coins', 'Nāṇakamoshi' has been read by U. Thakur as 'Nāṇakamushā', the meaning of the expression being assumed to be a mould for producing Kushāṇa type of coins.[2] However, it appears that nāṇaka was known as the denomination of a coin during the period when Śūdraka composed his drama. The *terminus da quem* for the drama is settled by its mention in the Avaloka of Dhanika who belonged to the court of the Paramāra king Muñja ruling in the last quarter of the tenth century A. D. V. R. Nerurkar has, on the basis of his analysis of the style of the drama, assigned its date to the first half of the seventh century A. D.[3]

The question remains whether nāṇaka was a generic term for a coin or a denomination of a particular type or class of coins. It has been introduced by J. N. Banerjee,[4] on the basis of a commentary on the Yajñavalkya-smṛiti (nanaṅka ṭaṅka), as Kushāṇa gold coins having Nama as their cognisance. Banerjee has not specifically referred to the commentator on whose information he has upheld his view. However, 'ṭaṅka' was a very common name of a coin, whether general or of a specific type or metal, in the early medieval period. The goddess Nana is found to have appeared on the reverses of both gold and copper coins attributed to Kanishka I, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. The Mitākshara[5] (Yajñavalkya-smṛiti, Vyāvahārā-dhyāya, verse 240) tells us that a coin, whether dramma (of silver) or nishka (of gold), stamped with an impression was known as nāṇaka (naṇakaṁ mudrachinhitaṁ dramma mishkādi). The expression 'naṇakaparīkshā,' that is, testing of a coin', occurring in Hemadr i's Chaturvarga Chintamaṇi may also be taken into consideration.[1]

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[1] V. R. Nerurkar (ed.), *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, Act I, Verse 23.

[2] U. Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India*, Benaras, 1972, p. 103.

[3] Nerūrkar, *Op. Cit.*, Introduction, p. 19.

[4] K. A. N. Śāstrī (ed.). *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol II, Calcutta, 1957, p. 795.

[5] S. S Setlur (ed,). *The Mitākshara*, Madras, 1912. p. 1023; Sircar, D. C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p. 211.

The above explanation of naṇaka suggests that it might have been a name of a coin of any metal, gold, silver or copper. It may, however, be reasonably held that naṇaka means 'nāṇā-aṅka, that is, an impression of Nana. Due to frequent occurrance of Nana as the cognisance of the Kushāṇa coins, the denomination came into vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Yājñavalkyasmṛiti, according to P. V. Kane.[2] was composed between A. D. 100 and 300, the period when the Kushāṇa coins having Nana as their cognisance were widely current. The evidence of the Mṛichchhakaṭika, the Mitākshara (between 1080 and 1100 A. D.) and the late compilation-work Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi probably suggests that naṇaka continued to be used as a coin-denomination much beyond the Kushāṇa period.

The worship of the Sumerian goddes Nana is traced with probability in Elam, with certainty in Syria, Bactria, India, Asia Minor and Greece. She had an affiliation with Ishtar in Assyria-Banylonia, with Anahita in Persia, Armenia, and possibly in Bactria, with Astarte in Phoenicia, and went to the making of Artemis or Diana, of Aphrodite or Venus, and of Athena in the Greek world.[3] Nana may thus be recognised as the representation of universal mother-goddess. On the coins of the Kushaṇa king Huvishka, Nana, being represented by the side of Śiva, has become identified with Umā.[4] She is sometimes found to appear on the Kushāṇa coins with her mount lion like goddess Drugāsiṁhavahinī· She may also be traced in the 'seated goddess' type of early medieval coins of Northern India.[5] On the coins attributed to the Kings of Kashmīr, the Pāla king Devapala, the Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva, some Chandella kings, the Gahaḍavāla king Govinda Chandra, some Yadu rulers of Bayana and the Chahamana king Ajayaraja.

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1. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* Oxford, 1956, p. 534.
2. P. V, Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, Vol II, Pt I, P. xi.
3. J. Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York, 1960, Vol V. P. 827.
4. B. Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Icoins—a study of Myths and Symbols in Indian Numismatic Art*, Cal, 1977. pp. 556-63.
5. Lallanji Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin-types of Northern India*, Numismatic Society of India, 1966, pp. 57, 64, 68, 72, 75-79.

It may be argued by some that the 'seated goddess' type of early medieval coins of Northern India represents an imitation of the Gupta imitation of the 'Ardoksho' type of the Kushāṇa coins. But conceptualy Ardoksho with cornucopiae, Iranian goddess of fortune, a counterpart of Indian Lakshmī, seems to be nearest to Nana who is represented on the coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva as holding a patora, with shooting corns in some cases.[1] One may point out that in the seated goddess type the association of the lotus is often noticed, whereas in case of Nana the flower in question is conspicious by its absence. But, whatever might be the variations in iconographic details, it remains that the coins, having mother-goddess as their cognisance, continued to be put in circulation for a long time after the Kushāṇa period. Nana, inspite of its foreign origin, was accepted, in course of time, as one of the common designations of mother-goddess. This can only explain the occurrence of nāṇaka as the name of a coin in the literary texts of later dates.

Nāṇaka seems to have been the name of a specific type or class of coins as against others, without any prejudice to a specific metal. The coin-denomination was most probably in use in the areas where the coins having mother-goddess as their cognisance were current. But without having any specific metallic value or weigh-standard attached with it, the denomination 'nāṇaka' was gradually limited in use and finally lost its place in the numismatic vocabulary.

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[1] B. Chattopadhyay, *The Age of the Kushāṇas-numismatic study*, Cal., 1067, pp. 164-65.

KĀLĪMĀTĀ RĀMA ṬAṄKĀ : A NEW TYPE

B. R. MANI

(Pl. VI. 9)

I obtained a curious Rāma Ṭaṅkā from a coin dealer at the Daśāśvamedha Ghāt of Varanasi. I never came across any such Rāma Ṭaṅkā before which is represented on its obverse by Rāma and Lākshamaṇa and on its reverse by the goddess Chaturbhujī Mahākālī standing on reclining Śiva. The inscription on the ṭaṅkā, *Kālimātā*, found in the Devanāgari and Bengali letters adds to our curiosity. Tokens of Kālī-Rādhā-Krishṇa types were noticed[1] earlier in which Kālī is depicted with *Kālīmātā* inscription in Bengali and Devanāgarī characters on the obverse with *Rādhā* and *Krishṇa* on the reverse.

The present Rāma Ṭaṅkā in my coin cabinet may be described as follows-

Metal : Brass;
Shape : Roughly round;
Weight : 8·9671 gms.
Mean : diameter-2.85 cm.;
Breadth : 0.195 cm.

Obverse : Rāma with Lakshmaṇa on his left, both standing and wearing dhotī, ornaments, garlands, and crowns. They are armed with bows on their left shoulders and arrows in their right hands. Rāma is taller than Lakshmaṇa. Legend in Devanāgarī (8·30 to 4·00 O'clock) *Rāma-Lachhamana-Jānaka ja-bala-Hanamanka'* (= *Rāma-Lachhamana-Jānakī, Jai-bolo Hanumānakī*) Numerals[2] also in Devanāgarī are 557 and 40 below.

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[1] *JNSI*, Vol, XXVIII, pt- I, Pl, VI 13, pp. 93-4, Vol, XL, pf. VIII, 14 pp. 164-5.

[2] It is difficult to make out anything of the numerals. On many other Rāma Ṭaṅkās, the numerals are believed to specify the era Vikrama saṁvat or Śaka saṁvat. But in this case numerals defy analysis.

Reverse : Kāli standing on th body of Śiva, who has raised his left hand. Crested Kālī is wearing a garland of skulls and has four titulary objects in her four hands, i. e. blood-bowl (*pāna-pātra*) and blood-dripping heads (*mastaka* or *miśchyotadrudhiraśīrsha*) in her right hands and sword (*Khaḍga* or *asi*) and an indistinct object which should be shield in her left hands. Legend (9·00to11·00 O'clock) in Bengali is *Kālīmātā* and the same in Devanāgarī (1·30 to 3·30 O' clock).

The ṭankā is interesting also in the sense that it has Vaishṇava and Śaiva deities figuring separately on its two sides.

REVIEW

Aspects of Ancient Indian Technology by Dr. H. C. Bharadwaj Published by Motilal Banarasidas, New Delhi, 1979, Pages 212, Price Rs. 60.00.

The patient researches carried out by Dr. H. C. Bharadwaj over 15 years are well known and have appeared in a number of journals and learned publications. It was in reference to the archaeological material brought out by the department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University from the Rajghat excavations that he took up the scientific analysis leading to the Ph. D. degree of the University. Besides the isolated analysis of few specimens included in the report of individual excavations the only scientific study in India, on a wider canvas published earlier is one by S. Prakash and N. S. Rawat. Dr. Bharadwaj connects his scientific analysis of the archaeological material with general problems in which students of history, particularly of technology, will be interested. He attempts chemical spectrographic, metallographic and archaeological analysis of his objects. This shows the advanced state of ancient Indian technology in ceramics, glasses and copper, gold silver and iron. Dr. Bharadwaj is not satisfied with the chemical analysis alone; he goes on to draw attention to many interesting problems and offers useful suggestions to resolve them. Though a scientist, he has tried to press literary information also into service.

The numismatists will be particularly interested in Chapters 4 and 5 of the present monograph. Dr. Bharadwaj makes a detailed study of four silver Punch Marked coins, one silver coin of the 9th century, and one silver coin of Islam Shah of the 16th century to derive significant information about the fabrication technique. He subjects the single gold Punch Marked coin to scientific tests to infer that it cannot be an authentic Punch Marked coin.

Gold coins of the Gupta dynasty were earlier studied by some numismatists, but within a limited scope. Dr. Bharadwaj does not confine his analysis to Specific Gravity, but attempts chemical, metallographic and hardness determinations as well, which yield significant information about the fabrication technique. We wish this type of analysis is attempted in respect of a larger number of coins belonging to different regions and periods.

In congratulating Dr. Bharadwaj we thank the University and the U. G. C. which have made such a useful study available in print.

Lallanji Gopal

Indigenous States of Northern India (c. 200 B. c.-300 A. D.), by Dr. Bela Lahiri M. A., D. Litt.; pp. i-xvi and pp. 1398, with six *plates* and a *Foreword* by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1974. Price Rs. 50. 00.

The work has been divided in to thirteen chapters, each dealing with a particular topic, relevant to the subject. Besides the Foreword and the Preface, there are in it, a learned Introduction, an equally learned Conclusion, Appendix, Select Bibliography and an exhustive Index. Replete with all its essential parts, the work has become a valuable source of information relating to the political history of Northern India from c. 200 B. C. to 300 A.D. which was once believed to be the 'Dark Age'. Readers will find Keys to the plates, illustrating the coins and their symbols to an additional advantage. No less important for history is that long 'List of Inscriptions', which the author has appended to her work for future research on the subject (pp. 323-330).

The subject is well-chosen and the performance of the author is excellent. During the last three decades, a number of learned works, bearing on the history and culture of Ancient India have been published, out of which only three may be considered to be of out standing merit, because of their intrinsic value. We have no hesitation to admit that Dr. Lahiri's work has been able to earn that distinction, because of her laborious research and the wealth of information, she has placed before us, in each one of the thirteen chapters constituting the main body of the treatise. Since the scope of the investigation as prescribed by the author, enjoins a critical study of the political history of Norhern India well-high five centuries (c. 200 B. C to 300 A. D), its material is bound to be comprehensive and of diverse character. Though vast and varied, it admits of three divisions, viz. numismatic, epigraphic and literary, and this fact has also been recognized by the author. We have mentioned those three distinct categories in the respective order of their importance for the purpose of studying the subject, and we are glad to note that top priority has been given by the writer to numismatics, as the primary source of information, as one can reasonably believe. It clearly appears that the author has made full use of her wide experience in that subject. The readers would be interested to see how the author is proceeding slowly, but with confidence through the dark alleys of tribel history, holding the lamp of numismatics. Next come as sources of information, in order of priority, the available epigraphic records, the number of which is by no means insignificant. All of them have been critically edited and their historical value determined; and consequently, one would expect the auther only to utilize them properly, No important inscription, throwing light on the subject has been overlooked or ignored, so far as we know. As it appears, the author has not been able to utilize all the available literary sources. In fact some of them would have enriched the work and made it more scholarly and upto date.

We deem it necessary to say a few words about the manner in which the vast amount of evidence collected by the author, has been utilized in the work. It has been noticed that her observations on the political history of the tribes are marked by much elaboration in some cases and much brevity of conscieness in respect of others. The reason is inexplicable, since it is not due to the abundance or the paucity of available data. It may have been due to the special interest which a historian is sometimes found to take, through inadvertence, on certain topics in history, as believed by Toynbee. For instance in delineating the history of the Vrishnis and Vasudeva Krishna, the author has named a numer of *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* and the works of Panini and Kautilya, but has taken no notice of the *Antagaḍadasāo*, *Vaṇhidasāo*, the *Uttarajjhyaṇa*, and the *Harivaṁśā-purāṇa* of the Jainas, or the *Petavatthu* and the *paramatthadipanī* of the Buddhists (Thervādins). Likewise, while giving credit to scholars like Cunningham, Bergny, Rapson, Chakravorti (Dr. S. K.), and Sircar (Dr. D. C.) for their attempt to read the legend occurring on a unique silver coin of the Vrishnis, the author has sadly overlooked another writer's paper where the standard-weight and the legends of the same coin, have been fully discussed· (cf. *Buddhistic Studies*, ed. Law, P. 398. Calcutta 1931, see also the comment of Dr. Chakravorti on the correct reading of the legend suggested by the same writer). There are many similar cases of omission, which, we believe, the author would rectify, when the second edition of the work would be called for. But we cannot possibly deny the fact that, despite such deficiencies, it is the best piece of research, relating to the political history of Northern India of the specified period which has been undertaken so far.

The work has been written throughout in simple, lucid and elegant style and, thus, affords a pleasant reading. Future historians will find the work useful, if they conduct research on the very same period as prescribed by the author. We have no hesitation to admit that Dr. Lahiri has amply succeeded in illuminating the so-called 'Dark Age' of Ancient Indian History by her painstaking and thought-provoking research of no mean magnitude.

A piece of historical research that is so highly interesting, informative and learned, deserves indeed a word of recognition.

C. D. Chatterjee

Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins, (*A Study of the Magha Coinage based on the Kauśāmbī Hoard*), by Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.N.S.; pp. i-xvi and pp. 1-108, with nine plates, published by the Nagpur University, Nagpur, 1979. Price Rs.60.00

This important study of the Kauśāmbī hoard of the Magha coinage is divided into two parts. The first discusses the general features of the Magha coins and gives informations about the earlier hoards. It outlines the history of the Maghas and sheds light on the new informations acquired by the study of the hoard under study. In the second part the author details the contents of the present hoard and describes the coin-types and its varieties king-wise. At the end he attached three appendices which are more important for a researcher in the field. In the first one he enlists those Magha coins which are not represented in this hoard while the second one describes the coins of the alleged Magha kings not represented in the present hoard. The third appendix records the analysis of the metallic contents of the Magha coins carried out by the department of Chemistry, Nagpur University, Nagpur. The monograph contains a useful bibliography and index. At the end there are nine plates illustrating coins and line drawings of the devices on the Magha coins.

This is the first scientific study of the coins belonging to the dynasty of the Maghas. Although three more hoards had been discovered earlier but none of them was given such a detailed treatment. Magha kings are known from their inscriptions dated in a continuous era which is generally accepted as the Śaka era of A. D. 78. But many kings are known from their coins only. The present hoard, studied by Prof. Shastry, is more important from the earlier ones because it not only contains several new varieties of coins of the Magha kings but also it indicates about the existence of some new kings of the dynasty.

This hoard contains 2,942 coins, the biggest one so far discovered, incidently, Prof. Shastri informed me that he has received a still bigger hoard of the Magha coins. Seven Magha rulers and one another ruler named Vijayanandin of unknown dynasty are represented hear. Of these seven Magha kings one *Mahārāja* Magha is entirely a new name and the author claims him to be the first king of the line who gave his name to the dynasty like Śrī Gupta and Śrī Bodhi of the famous imperial Gupta and the Bodhi dynasties respectively. The other noteworthy feature of the hoard is the distinction between the two Śivamaghas on numismatic grounds. *Mahārāja* Gautamīputra Śivamagha and *Rājan* Kautsīputra Śivamagha were known through their clay sealings. But the author, for the first time, has been able to settle their chronological sequence on the basis of restrikings noticed on the coins. Thus he was able to tell us that Śivamagha I was followed by Vaśravaṇa and the latter was succeeded by Śivamagha II. These two Magha kings can be distinguished on the basis of palaeography of their legend on coins as well. Thus we have : Mahārāja Magha (1 coin), Bhadramagha (5 coins), Śivamagha I (352 coins), Vaiśravaṇa (1450coins), Śivamagha II (617coins); Bhīmavarman (100 coins), and Vijayamagha (2 coins), Nine coins belong to Vijayanandin who was probably a ruler of another dynasty which preceeded the Maghas.

The author has touched the problem of the origin of Maghas but avoided to go deep into the problem. Maghas might have been an alien race under the Kushāṇas. If we accept that the era used in the Magha inscriptions was that of the Kushāṇas started in A.D. 78, it can be suggested that perhaps the Maghas started their dynasty under the Kushāṇas. There is another reasons for such a thinking. The word *Magha* is not explainable in our language unless we make it *Megha* as the Purāṇas have done it. And we know from inscriptions as well as coin legends that the real word is *Magha* and not *Megha* which can be equated with the word *Maka* or *Maga*. At this stage it would be mentioned that I am sceptist about accepting the reading of [*Ma*] *harja* [*ma*] on the first coin illustrated by Prof. Shastri (Pl. I. 1. and p.41). I could not make out the legend from the illustration.

The author has done a great service by publishing the results of the metal analysis of the Magha coins. But he has failed to mention the results of an earlier analysis of the Magha coins published by Prof. Satya Prakash

& Dr. Rajendra Singh in *Coinage of Ancient India*, Delhi, 1968, pp, 518-19 and, Table 23.4. Here the results of spectroscopic analysis has also been given (Table 23. 5,) But, however, there is not much difference between the results of the two examinations.

Professor A. M. Shastri deserves our congratulation for bringing out this important monograph on Magha numismatics and we hope that he will soon publish the main results of his newly acquired hoard of the Magha coins.

The paper, printing and the getup of the book is excellant .

T. P. VERMA

PROCEEDINGS

Proceedings of the 67th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India (Held at Bangalore on 27th, 28th & 19th March 1980)

The 27th Annual Conference of the Society was held at Bangalore on the 27th, 28th and 29th March 1980.

The Inaugural session was held on the 27th March 1980. Dr. (Smt.) Bela Lahiri was the President of the Session, and she read her Presidential Address. The Presidential Address is printed in this Volume elsewhere.

Then the General Secretary, Prof Upendra Thakur read the General Secretary's Report which is here as under :

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT (1978-79)

Honourable Chairman, President and Fellow Members,

I have great pleasure in presenting the Secretary's Report for 1978-79. We met last at Burdwan, where the sixty-sixth session of our society was held in 1978, under the auspices of the Department of History, University of Burdwan. This year the conference has been convened by the Mythic Society (Daly Memorial Hall), Nruptunga Road, Bangalore-560002. We are grateful to the organisers of both these sessions. We also express our gratitude to Mrs. Dr. Bela Lahiri, Dept. of History, Jadavpur University, Jadavpur for having agreed to preside over the present session.

The Society has grown in strength and stature since we met at Burdwan in December 1978. There has also been and appreciable increase in the number of members.

Volume No XXXIX of our Journal is already out and Vol. XL (for 1978) will be out shortly. The cost of paper and printing has gone up. We have already borrowed Rs. 12,000/-to meet part of the expenditure on this account.

The scheme of publishing a full Corpus of Indian Coins has been revised and the names of authors for different volumes are being scrutinised. We expect to publish at last one of these volumes by 1981.

The work of reorganising the Society's library has been completed and some new books have also been added to the existing list. We are trying to develop our museum for which a grant of Rs. 30,600|-was given by the Govt. of India which has already been utilised for the purpose. We are making fresh efforts to secure more grant from the government to develop the library and museum and also to establish a Laboratory for numismatic studies with full facility to the members.

The cost of running the administration of the society has understandably gone up during the last few years. But the annual income has not increased to any appreciable extent. We must find ways and means to augment our income to run the Society and to implement new schemes.

It would not be of out place to add here that we have been receiving meagre grants from only eight States of our Country. We have, however, made appeal to other States for adequate grant to the Society to put us on sound financial footing. Lack of funds is greatly affecting the various publication schemes of the Society. Recently I. C. H. R., New Delhi, has granted Rs. 5,000|-for the 'Coinage and Economy of North Eastern States of India' which is in press already. Manuscripts of some other Memoirs and Numismatic Notes and Monographs are lying with us. We are trying to secure funds for them also.

For increasing our income we decided to secure advertisements for the pages of *JNSI*, but inspite of our fervent appeal to our honourable members to help secure advertisement for the Journal, we have not succeeded in our endeavour. We once again appeal to you all to extend your full cooperation in putting the Society on a sound financial footing. In this connection we would further like to point out that we are not in a position to expand further our Library and Museum as well as the proposed Laboratory for want of space. We have already kept twelve thousand rupees for this purpose but this sum is to meagre to meet our requirements. We would therefore like to appeal to our members for making generous donations to this fund also to enable the Society to achieve its target in this direction.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we may have committed errors, but these can be rectified if we work unitedly and with the sole purpose of serving the cause of numismatic studies. The Society has a role to play in the academic world and let us all strive to achieve that goal.

Sd|—**UPENDRA THAKUR**
GENERAL SECRETARY
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA,
VARANASI—5,

Resolutions

Proceedings of the Executive Council (out going) of the Numismatic Society of India was held on the 27th March, 1980 at 5.30 P. M. in the Mythic Society Hall at Bangalore (Conference Venue). The following members were present :—

1.	Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal	Chairman
2.	Dr. (Smt.) Bala Lahiri	President
3.	Dr. A. N. Lahiri	Vice-Chairman
4.	Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur	General Secretary
5.	Dr. Jai Prakash Singh	Treasurer
6.	Dr. T. P. Verma	Member
7.	Dr. B. B. Singh	,,
8.	Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee	,,
9.	Dr. S. K. Bhatt	,,
10.	Prof. Dr. A. M. Shastri	,,
11.	Sri S. N. Samanta	,,
12.	Sri Sundar Lal Tripathi	,,

1.	To confirm the minutes of the last meeting held on 20. 12. 1978 at Burdwan.	The minutes of the last meeting were read out and confirmed.
2.	The General Secretary's Report	General Secretary's Report was read out and approved.
3.	To consider amendments to the Constitution of the Numismatic Society of India as suggested by its Sub-Committee alongwith the letter of Shri S. K. Bhowmik, Vadodara.	(i) The suggestions and amendments to the Constitution submitted by Sub-Committee were read out and approved and the same was forwarded to the General Body for its final approval. (ii) The letter of the Director. Museum and Picture Gallery, Gujarat State, Baroda was read out and found not practicable.

3.	To consider the letters of Shri V. K. Thackker, Bhuj-Kutch and Shri Birendra Nath Mukherjee Calcutta in regard to the Agreement with the Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.	The letters of Shri V. K. Thacker and Shri Birendra Nath Mukherjee in connection with the Banaras Hindu University were read out before the Council and it was resolved that necessary inquiries be made from the University authorities for a final copy of the Agreement with the Banaras Hindu University.
5.	To consider the letter about Coins in antique Laws of Shri C. M. Desai, Post Box No. 106, Rajkot (Gujarat).	The letter of Shri C. M. Desai about Coins in Antique Laws was read out before the Council and it was postponed.
6.	To nominate the Presiding Officer for the election.	Resolved that Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee be nominated as Presiding Officer for the election.
7.	To consider the enhancement of the advertisement charges in view of the high cost of paper and printing : Following are the existing rates of the advertisement charges :—	The existing rates of the advertisement charges were discussed in the Council and it was resolved to enhance the advertisement charges in view of the high cost of paper and printing. Resolved that the charges will be as follows with immediate effect.
	(i) Ordinary Half Page Rs. 150/- (ii) ,, Full Page Rs. 300/- (iii) Inner Cover Rs. 400/- (iv) 4th Page of the Cover Rs. 500/-	(i) Ordinary Half Page Rs. 200/- (ii) ,, Full Page Rs. 350/- (iii) Inner Cover Rs. 450/- (iv) 4th Page of the Cover Rs. 500/-
8.	To approve the Auditor's Report for the year 1978-79.	The Auditor's Report for the year 1978-79 was read the before the Council and approved.
9.	To approve the Budget for the year 1979-80 and income and expenditure incurred so far.	The Budget of the Society for the year 1979-80 with income and expenditure were read out and approved.
10.	To approve the direct deposit of the Life Membership fee in the Reserve Fund.	Resolved that the Life Membership fee be deposited directly in the Reserve Fund Account of the Society.

11. To approve the revision of the Pay scales of the employees and the fixation of Pay accordingly with effect from the lst November, 1979 :— Accountant-cum-Head Clerk from 425-15-500-EB-15-650-20-700 to Superintendent 550-25-750-EB-30-900. Office-Assistant-from-250-6-310-EB-8-390-10-420 to 260-6-290-EB-6-326-8-366-EB-8-390-10-400. Peons-from 150-5-200-EB-5-250 to 196-3-220-EB-3-332. Shri Krishna Kumar Srivastava Superintendent-580 + 45 = 625 P.M. ,, Prahlad Narayan Pandey Office-Asstt. 262 + 4 = 266/-p.m. ,, Madan Mohan Srivastava Office-Asstt. 256 + 4 = 260/-p.m. Sri Radheshyam-Peon 160+36 = 196/-p.m. Sri Paras Nath-Peon 154 + 46 = 196/-p.m.	Resolved that the revision of Pay-scales of the employees of the Society and the fixation of pay accordingly be accepted with effect from the lst November, 1979 and they will be as under :— 1. Shri Krishna Kumar Srivastava Superintendent 550-25-750-EB-30-900 Rs. 625/- 2. Shri Prahlad Narayan Pandey-Office-Asstt-260-6-290-EB-6-326-8-366-EB-8-390-10-400 Rs. 266/- 3. Sri Madan Mohan Srivastava, Office-Asstt-260-6-290-EB-326-8-366-EB-8-390-10-400 Rs. 266/- 4. Sri Radheshyam-Peon-196-3-220-EB-3-232 Rs. 196/- 5. Sri Paras Nath-Peon (leave vacancy) 196-3-220-EB-3-232 Rs. 196/.
12. To approve the confirmation of Shri Radheshyam, Peon, with effect from the 29th September, 1977 on the basis of his appoint from the 29th September, 1975.	Resolved that the date of appointment of Shri Radheshyam, Peon, be recorded as 29th September, 1975 and he be confirmed with effect from 29th September, 1977.
15. To approve the transfer of Provident Fund Accounts of the employees with the Post Office.	Resolved that the Provident Fund Account of the employees of the Society be kept with the Post Office B.H.U. P. O.

	Hindu University, Varanasi from the State Bank of India, B.H.U. Branch, Varanasi on the point that the interest of the Post office is higher than the State Bank of India.	instead of the State Bank of India, B.H.U. Branch with immediate effect.
14.	To consider the application of the employees regarding enhancement of Dearness Allowance.	The joint application of the employees of the Society regarding enhancement in Dearness Allowance was considered by the Council and resolved that the Chairman, the General Secretary and the Treasurer be authorised to take a decision which will be final in this regard.
15.	To approve the list of holidays.	The list of holidays for the employees was considered and approved.
16.	Any other item with the permission of the Chair.	

March 28, 1980

Confirmed

Sd/-**Lallanji Gopal**
Chairman
Numismatic Society of India

Sd/--**Upendra Thakur**
General Secretary
Numismatic Society of India

Proceedings of an emergent meeting of the Executive Council (outgoing) of the Numismatic Society of India held on the 28th March, 1980 at 10. 30 A. M. in the Mythic Society Hall at Bangalore (Conference Venue).

The following members were present:—

1.	Prof.	Dr. Lallanji Gopal	Chairman
2.		Dr. (Smt) Bela Lahiri	President
3.		Dr. A. N. Lahiri	Vice-Chairman
4.	Prof	Dr. Upendra Thakur	General Secretary
5.		Dr. Jai Prakash Singh	Treasurer
6.		Dr. T. P. Verma	Member
7.		Dr. B. B. Singh	"
8.		Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee	"
9.		Dr. S. K. Bhatt	"
10.	Prof.	Dr. A. M. Shastri	"
11.		Sri. S. N. Samanta	"
12.		Sri. Sundarlal Tripathi	"

1.	Constitution of the Society	The amendments to the Constitution of the Society were reconsidered and passed and forwarded to the General Body of the Society for approval.
2.	To accept the resignation of Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee and to appoint the presiding Officer.	The resignation of Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee from the Presiding officer was accepted and Dr. Suryanath U.Kamath, Hon. Editor the Mythic Society, was nominated as presiding officer for the election.

March 29, 1980.

Confirmed

Sd/ **Lallanji Gopal**
Chairman, Numismatic Society of India

Sd/ **Upendra Thakur**
General Secretary
Numismatic Society of India

Proceedings of the Executive Council (New) of the Numismatic Society of India held on the 29th March, 1980 at 10:30 A. M. in the Mythic Society Hall at Bangalore (Conference Venue). The following members were present :—

1.	Prof. Dr. A. V. Narsimha Murthy	Vice-Chairman (in the chair)
2.	Dr. (Smt.) Bela Lahiri	President
3.	Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur	General Secretary
4.	Dr. J. P. Singh	Treasurer
5.	Sri A. H. Siddiqui	Member
6.	,, K. B. Tewari	,,
7.	Prof. Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri	,,
8.	Dr. Paras Nath Singh	,,
9.	Sri S. N. Samanta	,,
10.	Dr. R. D. Choudhari	,,
11.	Dr. K. K. Dasgupta	,,
12.	Sri B. B. Mehta	,,
13.	Dr. (Smt) Shobhana Gokhale	,,
14.	Dr. Bhashkar Chatterjee	,,
15.	Dr. T. P. Verma	,,
16.	Dr. B. B. Singh	,,
17.	Dr. A. N. Lahiri	,,

The following resolutions were passed :—

1.	To confirm the minutes of the last meetings held on the 27th and 28th March, 1980 at Bangalore.	The minutes of the last meetings dated 27th and 28th March, 1980 held at Bangalore were read out and passed.
2.	To elect the President for the next session.	Resolved that the chairman be authorised to consult a lawyer and place his advice before the Executive Council in regard to the election of Dr. P. L. Gupta for the Presidentship of the next session. Further, the name of Dr. K. K. Dasgupta was also proposed.

3.	To consider the letter of Sri K. K. Maheshwari, Maheshwari House, 36, L. Jagmohan Das Marg, Bombay-36 suggesting for distributing the copies of the audited accounts of the Society to all members of the Society and delection of the same from the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India to accomodate more papers.	The letter of Shri K. K. Maheshwari was read out before the council and it was resolved that the accounts of the society be properly maintained and audited reports be circulated to the members and the same be included in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India:
4.	To consider the letter of Shri Pratap Chandra Verma, 9,569 Mahadeo Street, Moti Katra, Agra-282 003, regarding the following:—	The letter of Shri Pratap Chandra Verma was read out and the following decesion were taken:-
	(i) To introduce Hindi in the Journal,	(i) The present policy in regard to the printing of the Journal shall continue.
	(ii) To arrange for an identity card to the members of the Society mentioning full details,	(ii) Issuing of identity cards to the members of the Socity is not feasible.
	(iii) To have an exhibition of Coins, Medals, Seals and Sealing Manuscripts etc. at New Delhi for the advertisement of the activities of the Society	(iii) It is not feasible to have an exhibition of Coins, Madals, Seals and Sealings and Manuscripts at New Delhi.
5.	To consider the following:—	Resolved that
	(i) Number of copies to be given to the authors of Society's publications as author's copy (Publications like Memoiros and Numismatic Notes and Monographs and other publications).	(i) 20 copies of Memoirs and Numismatic Notes and Monographs and other publications.
	(ii) Number of copies to be given to the authors of the respective volumes of the Corpus.	(ii) 10 copies of the Corpus be given to the authors;

	(iii) Number of copies to be given to the Cheif Editor, Editor or Editors, if any, on Society's publications (other than the Journal).	(iii) 2 copies each of the Society's publications be given to the General Editor, Editor or Editors (other than Journal).
	(iv) To provide a copy of the Journal, Seminar proceedings and such other publication's to non-member contributors as Contributor's copy.	(iv) A copy of the Journal, Seminar Proceedings and such other publications be given to non-member contributors as Contributor's copy in addition to 25 reprints of their articles.
	(v) The number of copies of the Journal, Seminar proceedings etc. to be given as Contributor's copy in cases in which contribution in jointly authorised by two or more scholars.	(v) A copy each of the Journal, Seminar proceedings etc. and such other publications and 25 off-prints be distributed to the Joint authors.
6.	To consider the payment of Honorarium to the Editors on basis of the deficit.	Resolved that the payment of Honorarium to the Editors be stopped with immediate effect on the ground that there is heavy deficit.
7.	To approve the budget for the year 1980-81 with amendments.	The proposed budget of the Society for the year 1980-81 with amendments be approved.
8.	To consider suitable payment to a proof-reader.	Resolved that the appointment of a proof reader be accepted in principle. The details in regard to payment etc. will be worked out jointly by the Chairman and the General Secretary.
9.	Any other item with the permission of the Chair.	None

March 29, 1980.

Confirmed
Sd/-**Lallanji Gopal**
Chairman, Numismatic Society of India

Sd/-**Upendra Thakur**
General Secretary Numismatic Society of India

Proceedings of the General Body of the Numismatic Society of India held on the 29th March, 1980 at 2.00 P. M. in the Mythic Society Hall at Bangalore (Conference Venue). The following members attended the meeting. It was presided over by Prof. Dr. A. V. Narshimha Murthy, Vice-Chairman of the Society.

1.	Prof. Dr. A. M. Shastri	Nagpur
2.	Sri Akhand Pratap Singh	Varanasi
3.	Dr. Achhelal Yadav	Varanasi
4.	Sri Audhesh Singh	Varanasi
5.	Sri Arun Kesarvani	Varanasi
6.	Dr. S. K. Bhatt.	Indore
7.	Prof. K. D. Bajpai	Saugar
8.	Dr. Smt. Bela Lahiri	24 Parganas
9.	Shri Brajraj Tiwari	Varanasi
10.	Sri Bipin B. Mehta	Rajkot
11.	Dr. R. D. Chaudhry	Gauhati
12.	Smt. Dolly Mukherjee	Calcutta
13.	Sri Hiralal Saw	Calcutta
14.	Km. Dr. Sarita Handa	Varanasi
15.	Sri Inder Singh	Betul
16.	Smt. Kalpana Ghosh	Calcutta
17.	Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee	Burdwan
18.	Dr. D. K. Ganguly	Santiniketan
19.	Sri. Binod Kumar Sinha	Bodhgaya
20.	Dr. Smt. Shobhana Gokhale	Poona
21.	Dr. B. B. Singh	Jaunpur
22.	Sri R. P. Singh	Jaunpur
23.	Sri S K. Srivastava	Ballia
24.	Sri Satyawan Singh	Varanasi
25.	Sri Sailendra Nath Samanta	Burdwan
26.	Dr. O. P. Singh	Jaunpur
27.	Dr. T. P. Verma	Varanasi
28.	Sri Pramod Varnekar	Belgaum
29.	Dr. P. N. Singh	Varanasi
30.	Sri. R. N. Singh	Varanasi

31. Dr. R. P. Singh	Varanasi
32. Sri Ramesh Chandra Srivastava	Varanasi
33. Sri Rajdeo Dubey	Varanasi
34. Dr. K. B. Tiwari	Hoshangabad
35. Dr. J. Yadava	Varanasi
36. Dr. A. N. Lahiri	24 Parganas
37. Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal	Varanasi
38. Dr. S. J. Mangalam	Pune
39. Sri Mohd. Naseem	Varanasi
40. Sri Mohd. Riazol Karim	Varanasi
41. Dr. Krishnananda Choudhary	Jaunpur
42. Dr. K. K. Dasgupta	Calcutta
43. Dr. Nisar Ahmad	Varanasi
44. Dr. P. L. Gupta	Varanasi
45. Dr. Pranabananda Jash	Birbhum
46. Sri Pradeep Mehra	Varanasi
47. Sri Sailendra Nath Panthari	Varanasi
48. Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur	Gaya
49. Dr. J. P. Singh	Varanasi
50. Sri. M. A. Hameed Siddiqui	Hyderabad
51. Dr. A. V. Narshnha Murthy	Mysore
52. Sri Ravindra Kumar	Varanasi
53. Sri Sarvesh Singh	Varanasi

The following resolutions were passed :—

1. To confirm the minutes of the last meeting held on 20. 12. 78 at Burdwan and three meetings dated 27th, 28th and 29th March 1980 at Bangalore.	The minutes of the last four meetings dated 20th December 1978, 27th 28th & 29th March, 1980 were read out and approved.
2. The General Secretary's Report.	The report of the General Secretary was read out and approved.
(b) The Auditor's Report and Budget.	The Auditor's Report, for the year 1978-79 and the Budget for the years 1979-80 & 1980-81 were approved and forwarded by the Executive Council were passed.

3.	To consider the amendments to the Constitution of the Numismatic Society of India as approved by the Executive Council alongwith the letter of Shri S. K. Bhowmik, Baroda.	The amendments to the Constitution of the Numismatic Society of India approved and forwarded by the Executive Council were read out and passed.
4.	To consider the Agreement with the Banaras Hindu University as approved by the Executive Council of the Society.	Resolved that the decision taken by the Executive Council in regard to the Agreement with the Banaras Hindu University be approved.
5.	To consider the letter of Sri C. M. Desai, P. O. Box No. 106, Rajkot Gujarat, about Coins in Antique Laws and suggestion by the Executive Council.	Resolved that the decision taken by the Executive Council for the postponement about coins in Antique Laws be approved.
6.	To consider the letter of Sri K. K. Maheshwari, Bombay for distributing the copies of the audited accounts of the Society to all members of the Society and delegation of the same from the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, to accomodate more papers and the suggestion by the Executive Council.	Resolved that the decision taken by the Executive Council on the letter of Shri K. K. Maheshwari be approved.
7.	To consider the letter of Shri Pratap Chandra Verma, Agra regarding Journal in Hindi, identity card for members and exhibition of coins etc. for the advertisement of the Society and suggestions of the Executive Council.	Resolved that the decision taken by the Executive Council on the application of Shri Pratap Chandra Verma be approved.
8.	Any other matter with the perission of the Chair.	A vote of thanks was proposed for Prof. K. T. Pandurangi, Prof. K. N.

Iyengar, Dr. M. K. L. N. Sastry, Shri Y. K. Raghavendra Rao, Dr. Suryanath U. Kamath, President, Vice-President, Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Editor respectively of the Mythic Society, Bangalore and Prof. Dr. A. V. Narsimha Murthy, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology University of Mysore, Mysore for their best co-operations.

Condolence was observed for late Shri Banshidhar Tiwari, Gaya, a member of the Society.

March 29, 1980.

Sd/- **Upendra Thakur**
General Secretary, Numismatic Society of India

Confirmed
Sd/- **Lallanji Gopal**
Chairman, Numismatic Society of India

ACCOUNTS

BALANCE SHEET AS AT

Figure of the Previous Year	CAPITAL & LIABILITIES		Rs. P.	Rs. P.
	SPECIAL FUND :—			
35,628=84	Balance as per last Balance Sheet.			
		35,628 84		
	Add Interest.	42.75	35,671.59	
3,000=00	Furniture Fund.		3,000.00	
8,000=00	Library Fund.		8,000.00	
34,600=00	Museum Fund.		34,600.00	
2,500=00	Strong Room Fund.		2,500.00	
45,645=40	Building Fund	45,645.40		
	Add Interest.	16,12	45,661.52	1,29,433.11
1,895=35	**Booklet Scheme :—**		1,895.35	
	Add Interest.		4.05	1,899.40
9,021=87	**Reserve Fund :—**		9,021.87	
	Addition.		5,503.55	
	Add Interest.		1,267.50	
			15,792.92	
	Less Transfer to General Fund.		12,407.16	3,385.76
491=33	**Suspense Account :—**			712.78
6,188=06	**General Fund : —**			
	Balance as per last Balance Sheet		6,188.06	
	Add Transfer from Reserve Fund.		12,407.16	18,595.22
954=68	**Bank Over Draft :—**			
	State Bank of India, B. H. U. Varanasi.			— —
1, 662=63	Excess of Income over Expenditure.			— —
1,49,588.16			Total Rs.	1,54,026.27

Dated :—12.11. 1980
Varanasi.

Sd/-**Ghanshyam Das**
GHANSHYAM DAS & CO.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT

Sd/- **T. P. VERMA**
Jt. Secretary

Sd/**J. P. Singh**
Treasurer

Sd/-**Krishna Kumar**
Accountant

31st MARCH, 1980

Figure of the Previous Year	ASSETS & PROPERTIES	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
29,417.00	**Building :—**	29,417.00	
	Less Depreciation for the year	735.00	28,682.00
1,427.20	**Dies :—**	1,427.20	
	Less Depreciation for the year	142.70	1,284.50
2,545.00	**Furniture :—**	2,545 00	
	Less Depreciation for the year.	254 50	2,290.50
179,00	**Typewriter :—**	179.00	
	Less Depreciation for the year.	17.90	161.10
7,309.00	**Library :—**	7,309.00	
	Less Depreciation for the year.	1,096.35	6,212.10
55 60	**Duplicator :—**	55.60	
	Less Depreciation for the year,	8.34	47.26
1,143.00	**Electric Equipments :—**	1,143.00	
	Less Depreciation for the year.	114.30	1,028.70
34,446.63	**Museum :—** (at cost)	34,456 63	
	Less Depreciation upto the year,	6,544.63	27,902.00
2,590.00	**Strong Room :—**	2,590.00	
	Less Depreciation upto the year.	1,505.00	1,085.00
	Cash and Bank Balance :—		
11,550 00	Seven Years National Saving Certificates (RESERVE FUND)	— —	
5,400.00	with State Bank of India Fixed Deposit (RESERVE FUND)	5,400.00	
8,500 00	with State Bank of India Fixed Deposit (RESERVE FUND)	8,500.00	
6,835.93	with State Bank of India S B. No. 17161 (RESERVE FUND)	6,728.44	
— —	with State Bank of India, Fixed RESERVE FUND (CURRENT ACCOUNT)	5,062.70	
15,000.00	with State Bank of India, Fixed Deposit (Building Fund)	15,000.00	
382.81	with State Bank of India Saving Bank No. 21236 (Building Fund)	398.93	
15,720.00	with State Bank of India, Fixed Deposit (Special Publication Fund)	15,720.00	
4,000.00	with State Bank of India Fixed Deposit (Special Fund)	4,000.00	
951.21	with State Bank of India. S.B No. 15170 (Special Fund)	993.96	
1,800.00	with the State Bank of India Fixed Deposit.	1,800.00	
95.35	with State Bank of India (Booklet) Scheme S.B.No. 14985.	99.40	
240 43	Cash in hand.	885.56	64,588.99
— —	**Excess of Expenditure over Income :—**	22,406.20	
	Less Excess of Income over Expenditure.	1 662.63	20,743.57
1,49,588.16		Total Rs.	1,54,026.27

As per our separate report on that date.

(SEAL)

Sd/-**T.P. Verma**
Jt. Secretary

Sd/-**Krishna Kumar**
Accountant

Sd/**J.P. Singh**
Treasurer

Sd/-**Ghanshyam Das**
GHANSHYAM DAS & Co.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

Figure of the Previous Year		EXPENDITURE	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
1,089.27	To	**Postage & Telegrams.**		3,154.94
19,590 22	,,	Salary (including allowance D. A. and Provident Fund)		22,730.96
723.39	,,	**Asstt. Secretary Honorarium,**		— —
— —	,,	**Editor's Honorarium.**		1,500.00
— —	,,	**Author's Honorarium.**		1,405.00
— —	,,	**Publication Expenses :—**		
8,600.00		Cost of Paper	— —	
— —		Cost of Journal.	15,353.65	
— —		Cost of Memoirs.	7,211.68	
— —		Cost of Monographs.	2,977.47	
— —		Cost of Bibliography	5,275,62	30,818.42
— —	,,	**Cost of Medals.**		775.00
1,543.95	,,	**Sundry Expenses.**		1,042.86
2 907:82	,,	**Travelling & Conveyance.**		1,364.77
500.00	,,	**Audit Fee.**		250.00
1,026,25	,,	**Binding Expenses for Library Books.**		— —
342.35	,,	**Electric & Water Supply.**		189.10
778.91	,,	**Stationery.**		3,157.25
942.10	,,	**Telephone Charges.**		575.00
2,657.55	,,	**Depreciation on Assets :—**		
		Building.	735.00	
		Electric Equipments.	114.30	
		Dies.	142.70	
		Furniture.	254.50	
		Typewriter.	17.90	
		Library.	1,096.35	
		Duplicator.	8.34	
		Museum.	6,544.63	
		Strong Room.	1,505.00	10,418.72
40,701-81			**Total Rs**	77.382.02

Dated : 12.11,1980
Varanasi

Sd/– **Ghanshyam Das**
Ghanshyam Das & Co. Chartered Accountants

Sd/– **T. P. Verma**
Jt. Secretary

Sd/– **J. P. Singh**
Treasurer

Sd/– **Krishna Kumar**
Accountant.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH. 1980.

Figures of the Previous Year		INCOME	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
14,485.79	By	**Sale of Publications.**		14,000.46
7,699.08	,,	**Subscription Received.**		16,098.07
74.94	,,	**Donation Received.**		— —
84.50	,,	**Advertisement Charges.**		150.00
64.50	,,	**Coin Review.**		62.50
200.00	,,	**Numismatic Supplement.**		40.00
59.13	,,	**Banking Charges.**		99.79
	,,	**GOVERNMENT GRANTS RECEIVED :—**		
250.00		Indian Council of Historical Research New-Delhi Balance Amount for the year ('76)	— —	
4,750.00		Indian Council of Historical Research New-Delhi, for the printing of Journal	7,125.00	
— —		Indian Council of Historical Research New Delhi for the printing of 77–78 Journal	5,000.00	
5,000.00		Assam Government for 77–78	— —	
300.00		Madhya Pradesh for 78–79.	300.00	
300.00		Orissa Government for 78–79.	1,000.00	
1,000,00		Maharastra Government for 79–80.	1.000.00	
500.00		Uttar Pradesh Government for 79–80.	500.00	
— —		Central Government for 78–79.	4,000.00	
— —		Bihar Government for 78–79 and 79–80.	600.00	
— —		Karnatak Government 78-79 and 79–80.	2,000.00	
— —		Karnatak Govt. Non-Recurring 79–80.	3.000.00	24,525.00
5,933.87	,,	**Excess of Expenditure over Income.**		22,406.20
40,701.81			**Total Rs.**	**77,382.02**

As per our Separate report on that date.

Sd/-Ghanshyam Das
Ghanshyam Das & Co. Chartered Accountant.

(SEAL)

Sd/- **T. P. Verma**
Jt. Secretary

Sd/- **J. P. Singh**
Treasurer.

Sd/- **Krishna Kumar**
Accountant.

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR THE YEARS

INCOME

S. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1979-80	Estimates for 1980-81	Estimates for 1981-82	Remarks
	By Balance	240.43	885.56	—	
	I. General Fund				
1.	By Subscriptions	16,098.07	10,000.00	10,000.00	
2.	By Government Grants				
(i)	Assam Govt.	—	—	—	
(ii)	Gujarat Govt.	—	1,500.00	500.00	
(iii)	Madhya Pradesh Govt. 1978-79	300.00	600.00	300.00	
(iv)	Orissa Govt.	1,000.00	2,000.00	1,000.00	
(v)	Maharashtra Govt. 1979-80	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	
(vi)	Bihar Govt. 1978-79 & 79-80	600.00	300.00	300.00	
(vii)	Karnatak Govt. 1978-79 & 1979-80	2,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	
(viii)	,, ,, Non-Recurring grant	3,000.00	—	—	
(ix)	Punjab Govt.	—	3,000.00	1,000 00	
(x)	Uttar Pradesh Govt. 1979-80	500.00	500.00	500 00	
(xi)	Tamil Nadu Govt.	—	1,800.00	600.00	
(xii)	Central Govt. 1978-79	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,000.00	
(xiii)	Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi for the printing of the— (a) JNSI Vol. XL (yr–1978) 5000/- (b) Memoirs & Monographs– 7125/-	12,125.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	
3.	By Banking Charges.	103.79	—	—	
		40,726.86	30,700.00	25,200.00	
	II. Special Fund				
4.	By Donation	—	500.00	500.00	
5.	,, Delegation	—	250.00	250.00	
6.	,, Advertisement	150.00	550.00	550.00	
		150.00	1,300.00	1,300.00	

1980-81 & 1981-82 INCLUDING ACTUALS OF 1979-80

EXPENDITURE

Sl. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1979-80	Estimates for 1980-81	Estimates for 1981-82	Remarks
	I. General Fund				
	Balance (if over drawn)	—	—	3,02,184.79	
.	To Salary, D. A. & Contribution towards Provident Fund	22,730.96	29,220.35	34,034.95	
.	To Honorarium (a) Secretaryship	—	—	—	
	(b) Editors	1,500.00	—	—	
	(c) Authorship	1,405.00	1,500.00	1,500.00	
	(d) Auditors	250.00	250.00	250.00	
3.	To Office Expences				
	(a) Stationery	3,157.25	3,000,00	3,000.00	
	(b) Telephone	575.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	
	(c) Postage	3,154.94	3,000.00	3,000.00	
	(d) Contingent	1,042.86	1,500.00	1,500.00	
	(e) Electric Bills and Equipments	189.10	3,000.00	3,000.00	
	(f) Advertisements	—	250.00	250.00	
	(g) Banking Charges	—	250.00	250.00	
4.	,, Printing of Journals etc.	15,353.65	20,000.00	20,000.00	
5.	,, Travelling Allowance Conveyance	1,364.77	3,000.00	3,000.00	
6.	,, Library Books etc.	—	30,000.00	30,000.00	
	Library Books Binding Charges	—	1,500.00	1,500.00	
7.	,, Laboratory	—	250.00	250.00	
8.	,, Museum	—	50,000.00	50,000.00	
9.	,, Furniture	—	2,500.00	2,500.00	
10.	,, Annual Conference Medals...	775.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	
		51,168.28	1,55,220.35	1,60,034.95	

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR THE YEARS

INCOME

S. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1979–80	Estimates 1980-81	For the 1981–82	Remarks
	III. Publication Fund				
7.	i. By Sale of Publications	14,000.46	15,000.00	15,000.00	
	ii. Numismatic Supplement	40,00	100.00	100.00	
	iii. Coin Review	62.50	50.00	50.00	
		14,102.96	15,150.00	15,150.00	
8.	Loan From Reserve Fund	12,407.16	—	—	
9.	Suspence Account	221.45			
		12,628.61			
	Total	67,848.86	48,035.56	41,650.00	
	Deficit	—	3,02,184.79	5,30,569.74	
	Grand Total	67,848.86	3,50,220.35	5,72,219.74	

Krishna Kumar	**T. P. Verma**	**J. P. Singh**
Superintendent	*Joint Secretary*	*Treasurer*

1980-81 & 1981-82 INCLUDING ACTUALS OF 1979-80

EXPENDITURE

S. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1979-80	Estimates 1980-81	For the 1981-82	Remarks
	II. Special Publications				
11.	To I. (a) Reprinting of back Volumes of the JNSI—	—	15,000.00	15,000.00	
	(b) Reprinting of the Memoirs	—	5,000.00	5,000.00	
	(c) Reprinting of the Monograph	—	5,000,00	5,000.00	
	(d) „ Technique of Casting Coins	—	10,000,00	—	
	(e) „ of Bayana Hoards	—	25,000,00	—	
	II. (a) Printing of Memoirs—	7,211.68	10,000.00	10,000.00	
	„ of Monographs	2,977.47	10,000.00	10,000.00	
	(b) Seminar Proceedings	—	15,000.00	15,000.00	
	(c) Bibliography	5,275.62	10,000.00	10,000.00	
	(d) Corpus	—	15,000,00	15,000.00	
		15,464.77	1,20,000.00	85,000,00	
12.	To Building Fund	—	75,000.00	25,000.00	
13.	„ Reserve Fund	—	—	—	
14.	„ Special Fund	—	—	—	
15.	„ Bank				
	TOTAL	66,963.30	75,000.00	25,000.00	
	BALANCE	885.56	—	—	
	GRAND TOTAL	67,848.86	3,50,220.35	5,72,219.74	

Krishna Kumar
Superintendent

T. P. Verma
Joint Secretary

J. P. Singh
Treasurer

APPENDIX-I

Sl. No.	Name With Designation	Actuals of 1979–80			Estimates For The Years 1980-81 & 1981-82					
					—1980-81—			—1981-82—		
		Salary	D. A.	P. F.	Salary	D. A.	P. F.	Salary	D. A.	P. F.
1.	Sri Krishna Kumar Srivastava Superintendent...	7,020.00	1,404.00	585.00	7,650.00	3,031.50	641.80	7,950.00	4,333.20	662,50
2.	,, Prahlad Narayan Pandey Office Asstt.-cum-Typist.	3,263.54	643.79	268.55	3,288.00	1,689.30	274.02	3,360.00	2,470.00	280.00
3.	,, Madan Mohan Srivastava Office Asstt.-cum-Typist.	3,058.97	611.79	–	3,162.97	1,629.39	158.75	3,234.00	2,381.60	269.50
4.	,, Buddhu Ram, Peon-cum-Gardener	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5.	,, Paras Nath Yadava, -do-	1,984.42	396.88	–	2,391.00	1,225.90	–	2,427.00	1,784.20	202.25
6.	,, Radheshyam, Peon	2,139.90	421.71	392.41	2,403.19	1,234.30	200.23	2,442.00	1,795.20	203.50
7.	,, Jibodh, Chaukidar	300.00	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8.	,, Ram Autar, Sweeper	240.00	–	–	240.00	—	—	240.00	—	—
	Total	18,006.83	3,478.77	1,245.96	19,135.16	8,810.39	1,274.80	19,653.00	12,764.20	1,617.75
	Grand Total		22,730.96			29,220.35				34,034.95

Scale of Pay : (i) Superintendent : 550-25-750-EB-30-900; (ii) Office-Assistant : 260-6-290-EB-6-326-8-366-EB-8-390-10-400 ; (iii) Peon : 196-3-220-EB-3-232.

Plus Dearness Allowance according to the Central Government Rules.

Krishna Kumar
Superintendent

Jai Prakash Singh
Treasurer

T. P. Verma
Joint Secretary.

Res. 65617
Tele : Office 63620

Ghanshyam Das
B. Com., F. C. A.
Chartered Accountants

GHANSHYAM DAS & CO.
CK–37/39, Bansphatak
VARANASI

Date : 12. 11. 1980.

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

In terms of our separate report we have examined the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st March, 1980 and the annexed Income & Expenditure Account for the year 1979-80 of the Numismatic Society of India, P. O. Hindu University, Varanasi with the books and vouchers and explanations and information produced and found the same in accordance therewith, subject to that-

1. Bank Reconciliation statements were not produced to us.
2. Interest on Fixed Deposits have not been provided.

Sd/–T. P. Verma
Jt. Secretary.

Sd/–J. P. Singh
Treasurer.

Sd/–**Ghanshyam Das**
Ghanshyam Das & Co.
Chartered Accountants

Sd/—**Krishna Kumar**
Accountant.

Buy & Sell

Ancient Indian Coins from Licence Holders only

Silver War Medals, Victorian & Edward-VII, Scarce Bars

Old Indian Currency Notes, pre-1900.

Cash Cheques, Old Share Certificates, Old Bonds, pre-1900 only

Old Revenues from Native States.

Scarce Items from phillatelics.

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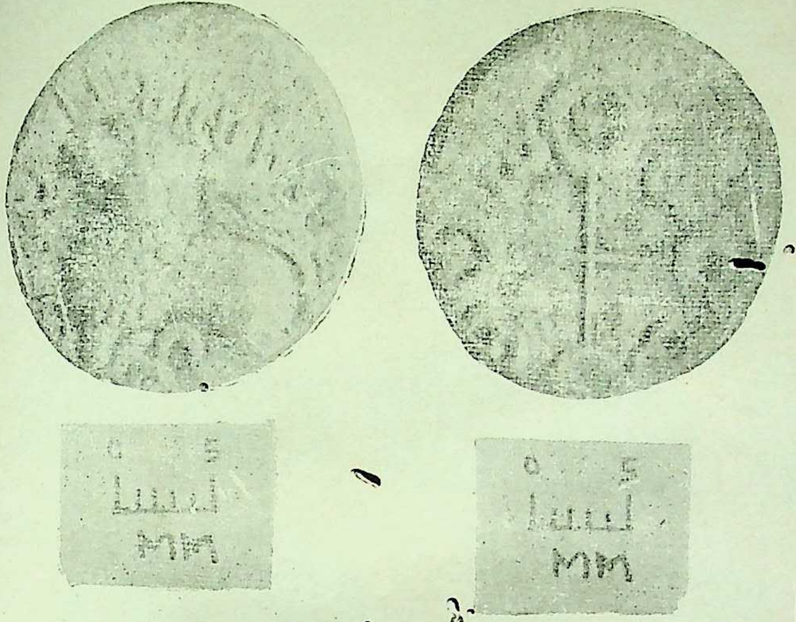
PLATE 1



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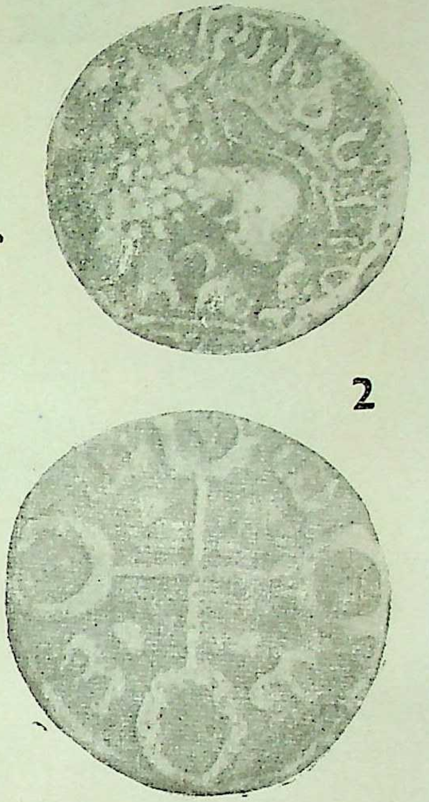

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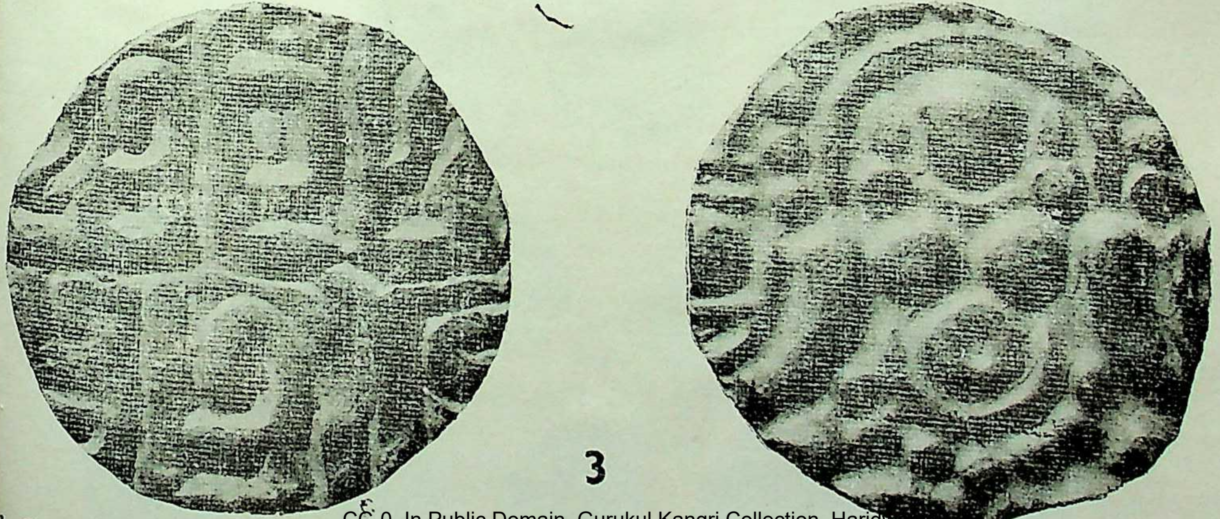

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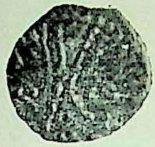
1. Copper Coin of King Sātavāhana, 2.Potin coin of Śri Sātavāhana, 3.Gold coin of Jayavar nan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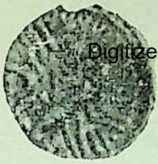
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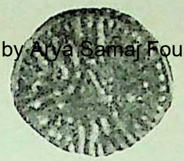
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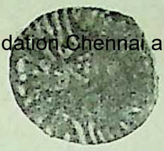
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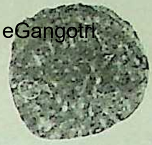
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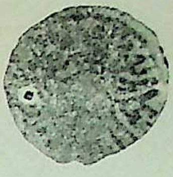
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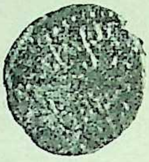
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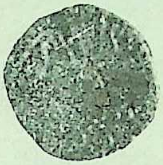
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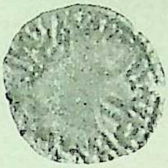
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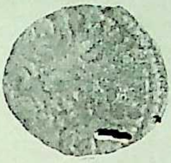
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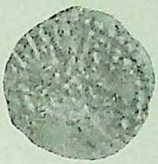
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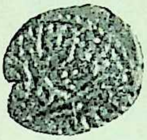
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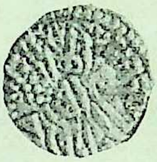
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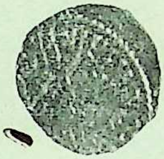
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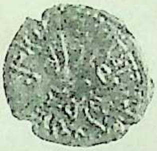
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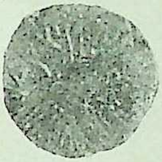
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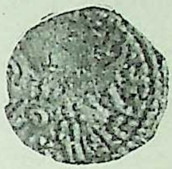
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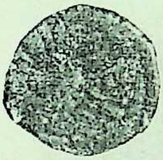
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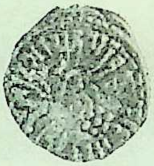
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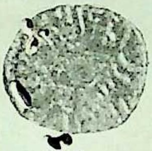
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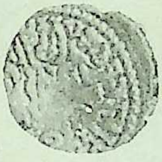
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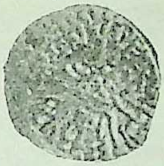
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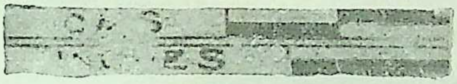

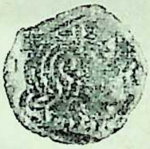
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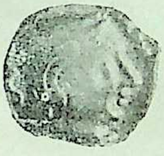
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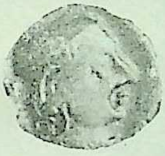
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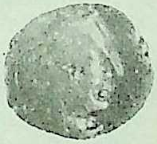
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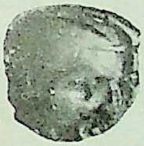
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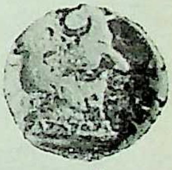
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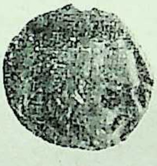
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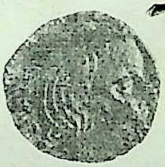
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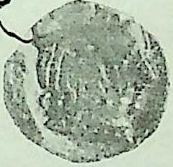
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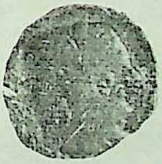
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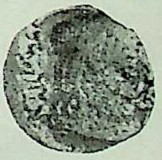
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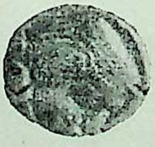
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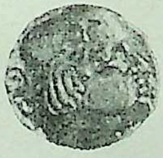
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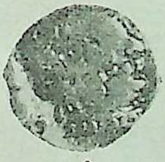
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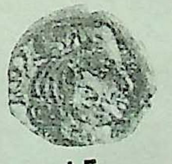
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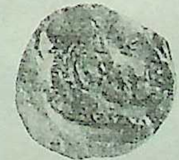
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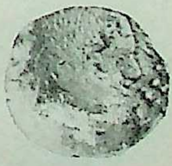
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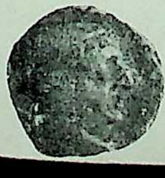

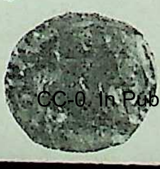

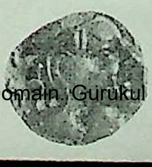

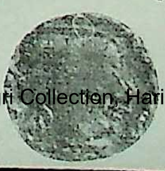

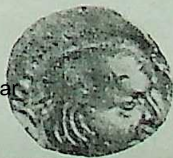

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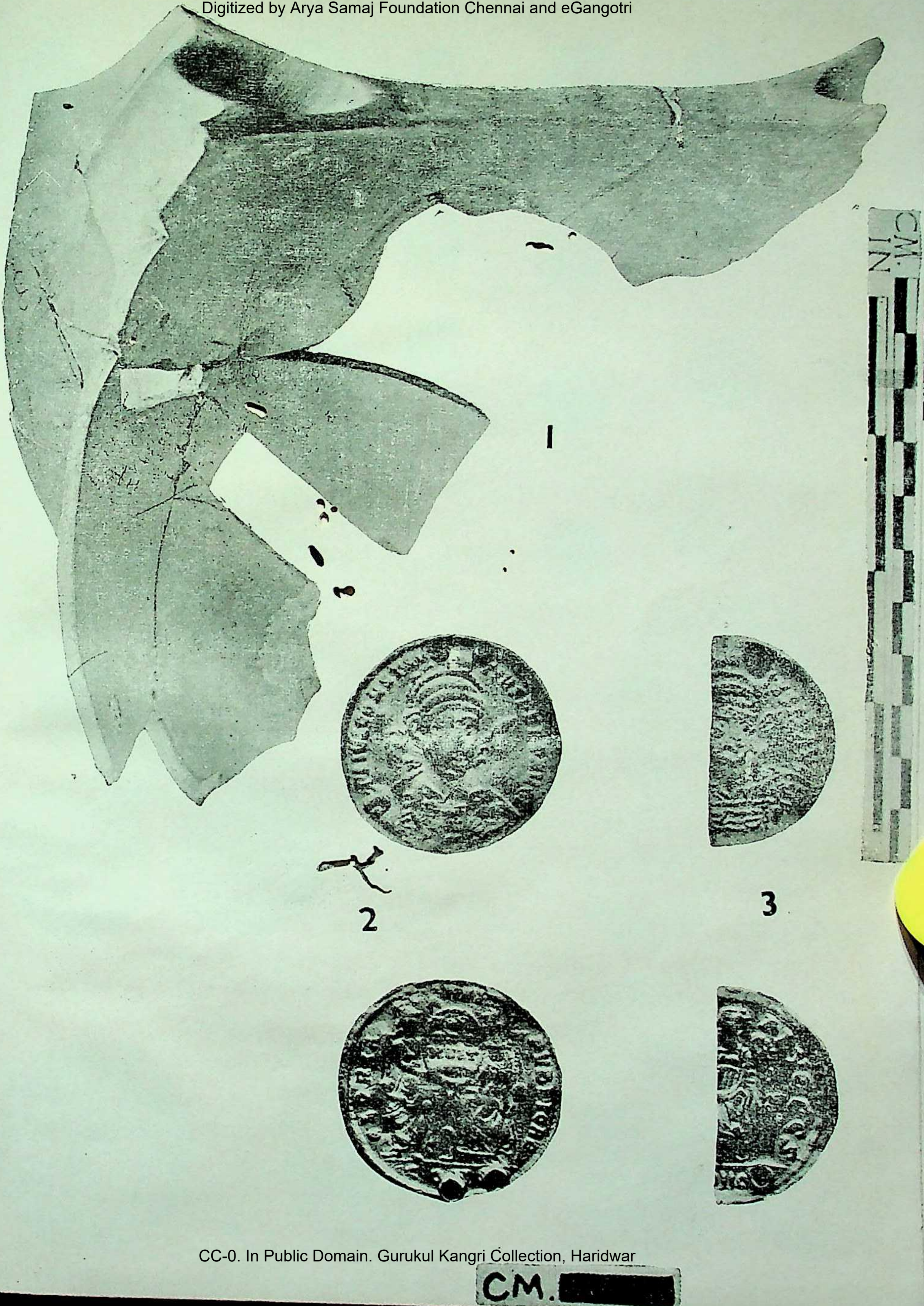

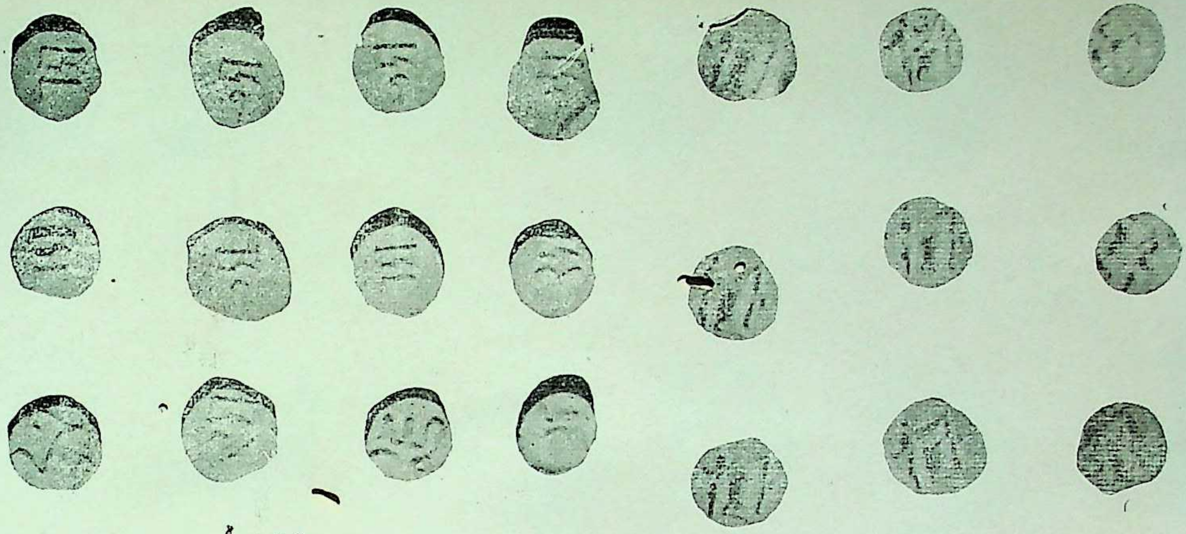

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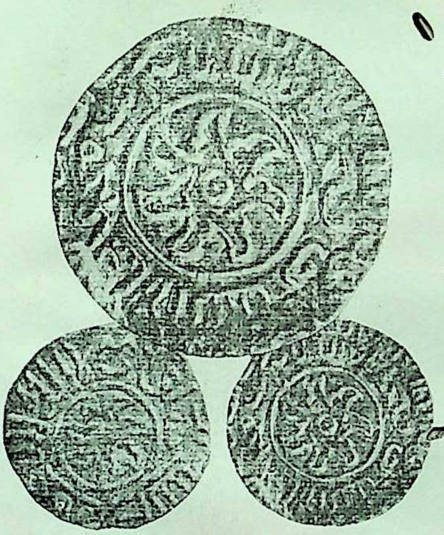

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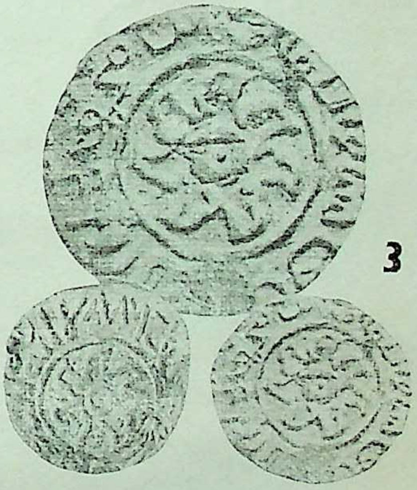

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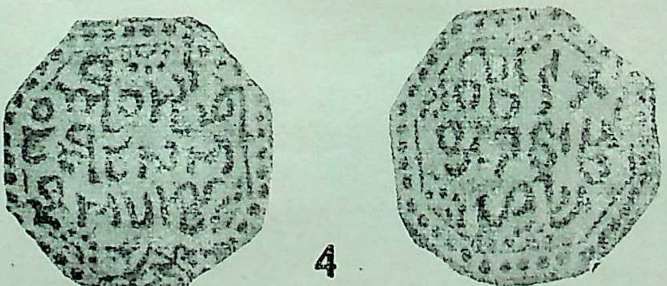

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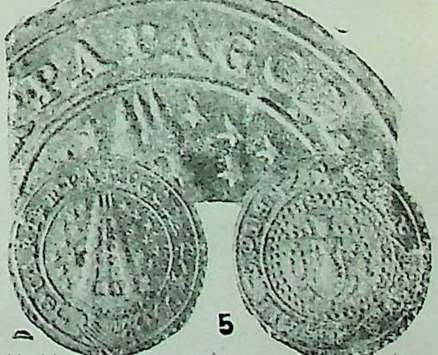

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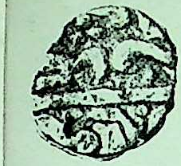
1a. and b Ganga Fanams, 2-3 Surya-type coins of Bangal, 4. Ahom coin, 5. A quarter Pagoda.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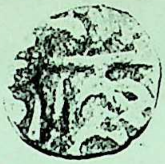
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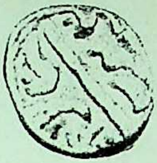
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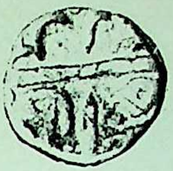
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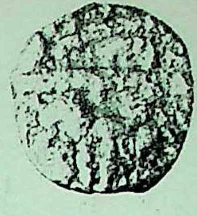
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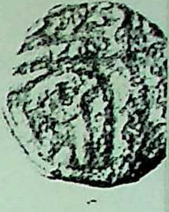
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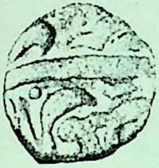
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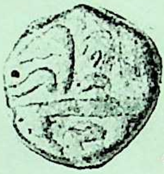
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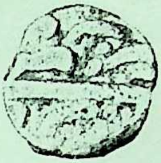
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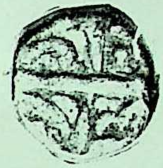
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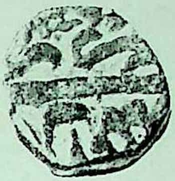
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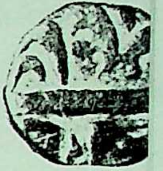
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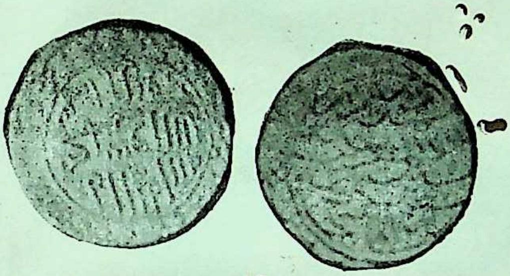
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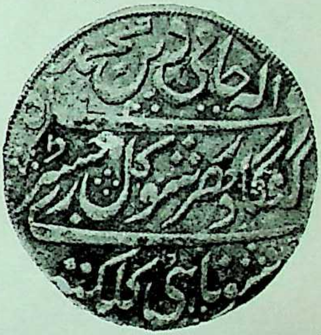
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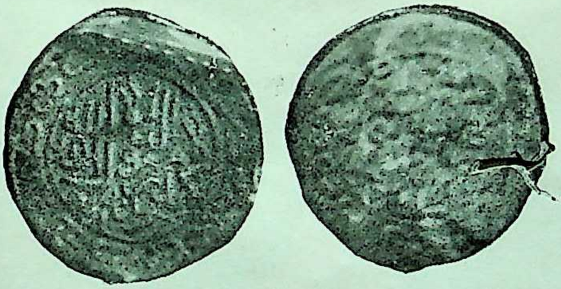
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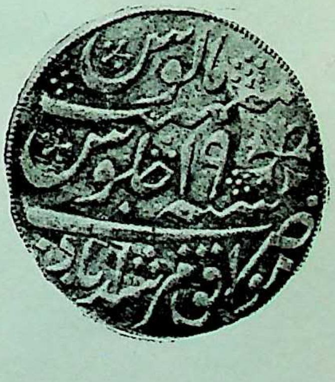

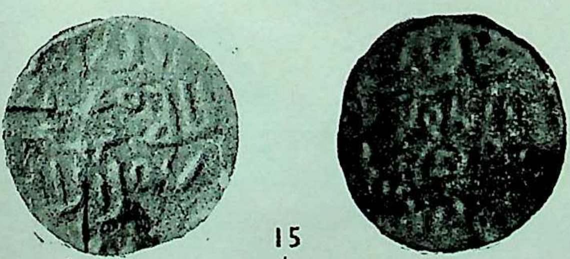
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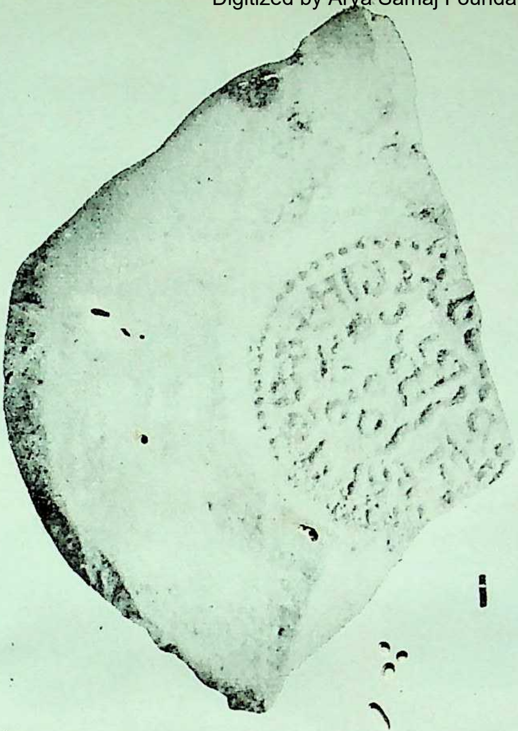
1-12 Copper coins of Nizam Shahi Rulers. 13-15 Coins of Yusuf Shah of Bengal. 16 East India Company Token.

PLATE VI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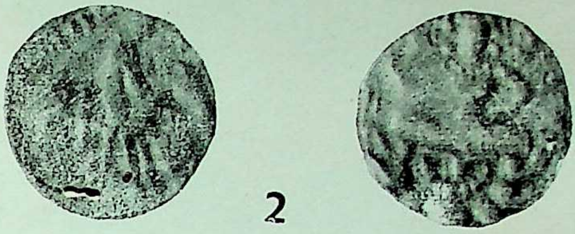
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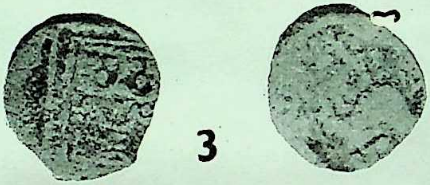
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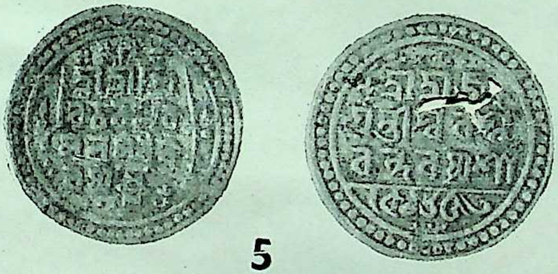
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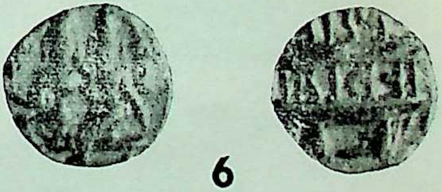
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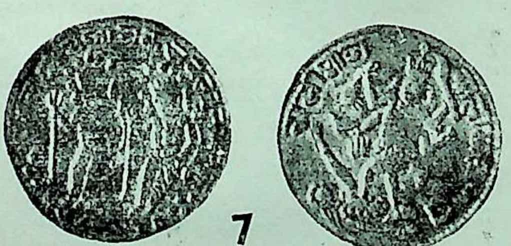
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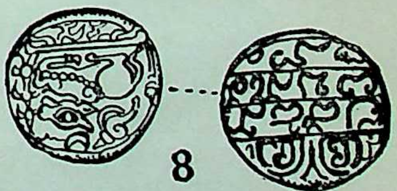
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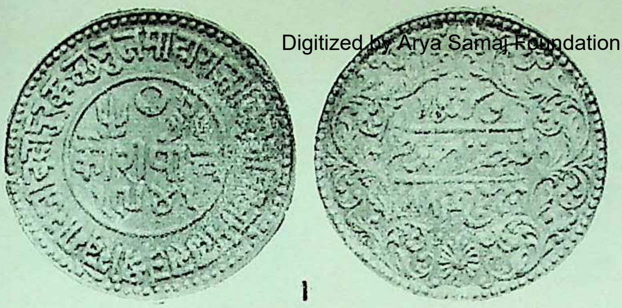
1. Terracotta Proof of Sātavāhana coin, 2. Gold coin of Bhānugupta Prakāśāditya, 3-4. Some Horse type coins, 5. A Silver coin of Jayantiya, 6. Gold coin of 7. Kālimātā Rāmatankā 8. A Nolamba coin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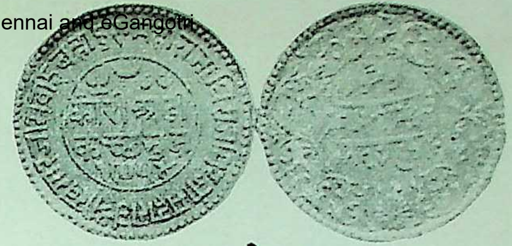
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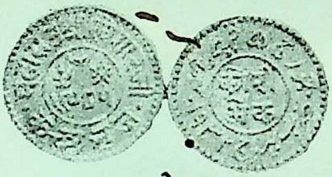
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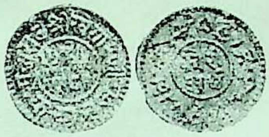
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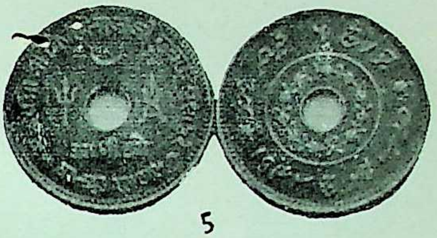
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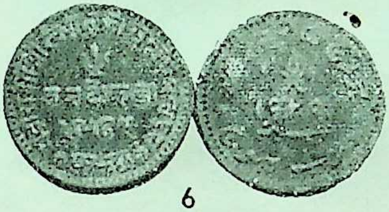
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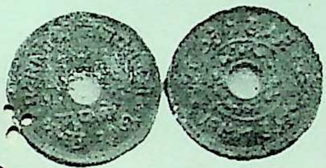
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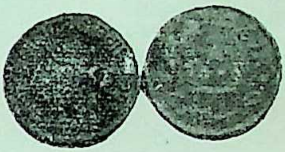
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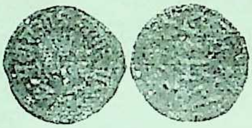
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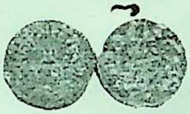
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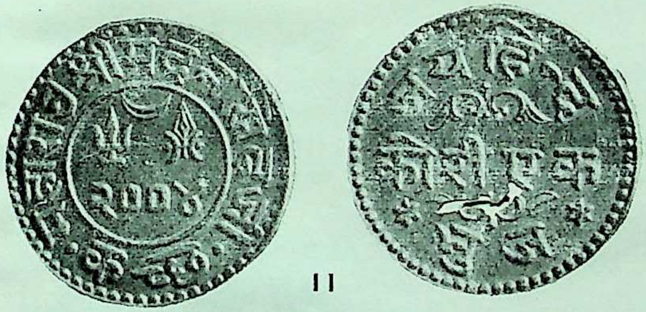
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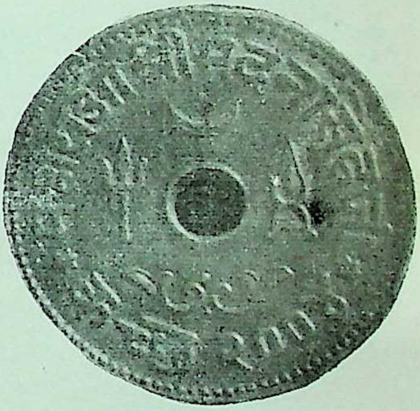
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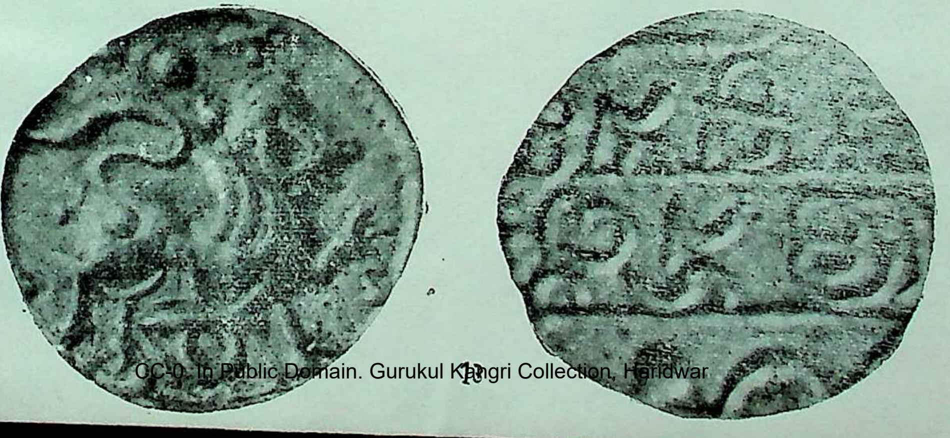
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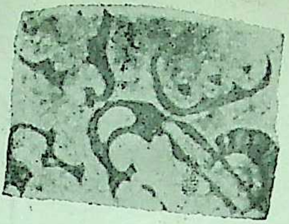
PLATE VIII



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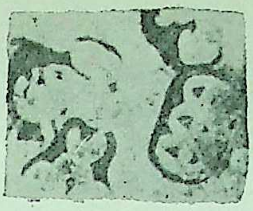

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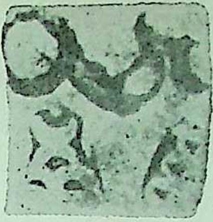

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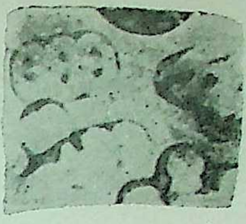

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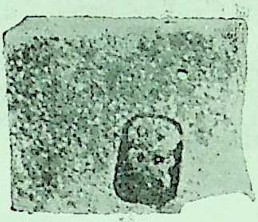

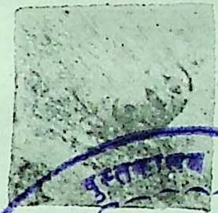

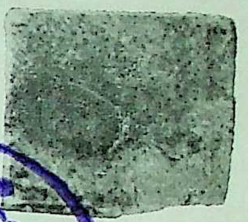

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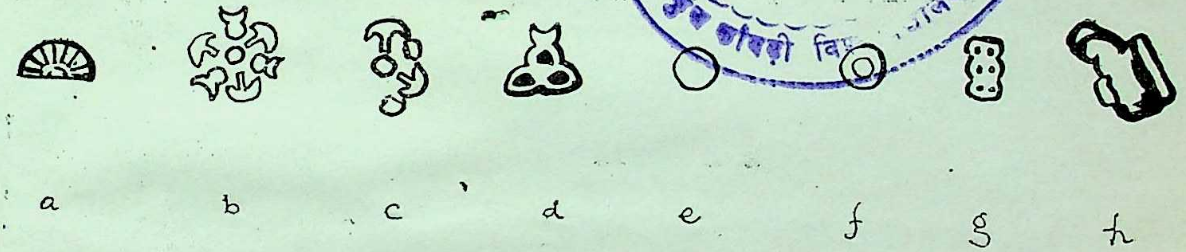

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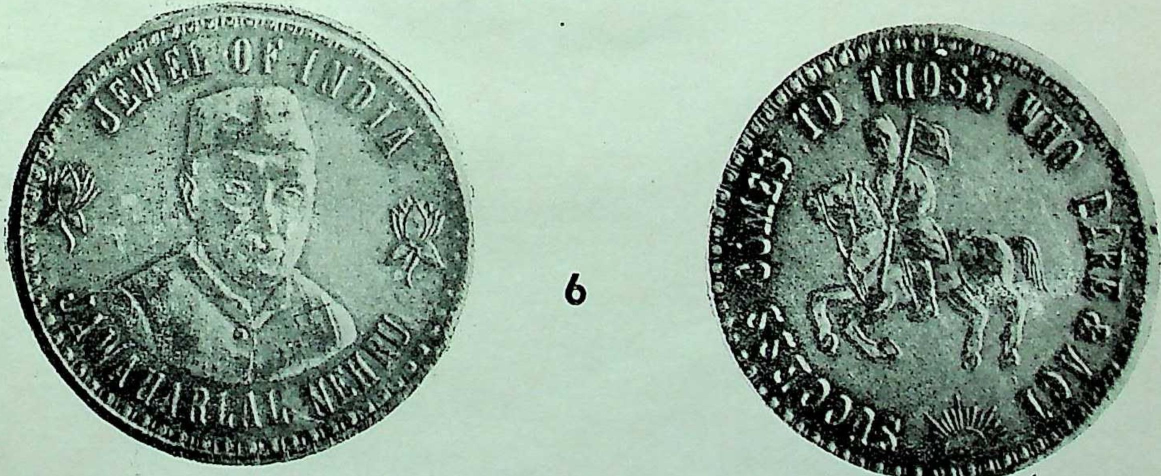
JEWEL OF INDIA
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
SUCCESS TO THOSE WHO DARE & LOVE

6

1-4 Silver Punch Marked coins from Allahabad. 5. Devices on Allahabad Punch Marked coins. 6. A commemorative Medal

31/10/03

110111

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1999-2000